The THIRD and LAST Part

OF THE

ADDRESS

TO THE

FREE-MEN

AND

FREE-HOLDERS

OF THE

NATION.

By the ſame Author.

LONDON,

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FREEMEN

AND

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To all the Loyal Persons in the Nation, who Addressed to His MAJESTY to Thank Him for His late Gracious DECLARATION.

GENTLEMEN,

THis and the two former Parts of this Work were all written at once, tho they have happened since to be published at several times, and were occasioned by those many Generous and most Loyal Demonstrations you every day then gave of your Attachment to His Majesties Interest, and the Established Government both in Church and State; for the truth is, till I saw you rise up so generally, and declare so heartily what your intentions were, I durst not think of opposing that Torrent, that then seemed to bear down all that stood before it, and threatned the rooting up of the Monarchy.

But when you came forth, and with a Loyalty and Courage becoming English-Men, *tell your Soveraign however you have of late been represented to him and the World, you were resolved to maintain His Royal Authority, the Church and the Government,*

and the Lawful Succession too, in the State they were now Legally setled, against all opposition whatsoever, and to that purpose freely and sincerely offer him your Lives and Fortunes to Command when necessity should require; I then saw there were more Thousands then I thought of that were resolved never to bow the Knee to the schismatical Calves either at Dan *or* Bethel; *or submit to another* Hogan Mogan *Common-wealth; and then I perceived that my former fears, how just soever they might seem before, were yet too great, for there were (or at least might be) more for us then against us.*

But then when I considered your quality, and the places you enjoyed in the Government, I raised my hopes yet higher, and I concluded a people who had such Loyal, such Religious, such Free and Generous Persons intrusted with the Government of them, could hardly miscarry in the end, tho for a time popular Storms might toss them.

I thought also that God himself had again respected his beloved Daughter the Church of England; *for which I was before more concern'd then for my self: and that he had declared himself the second time for the Family of his Servant the Illustrious Royal Martyr; For I could not ascribe so universal and unusual Concurrence of Men of different Humors, Educations, and degrees to any other cause then the*

Divine Providence inſpiring them with a Spirit of Unity, Loyalty, and Reſolution.

Yet obſerving that there was a conſiderable number of Freemen and Freeholders in the Nation to whom Heaven had not yet vouchſafed that favour, who went wrong out of Ignorance and incogitancy rather then Faction or Diſloyalty, and being an idle perſon, I thought I could not poſſibly better imploy a part of my time, then in Addreſſing *to them, to reduce and inform them, and as much as in me lay to render them like you; and alſo to confirm ſuch as might poſſibly yet ſtagger if another Temptation ſhould befall them.*

So that Gentlemen, *is was from your example, I took Courage to Write, and for your ſakes Chiefly have I ſince ventured to publiſh what I have written, that I may in ſome ſort juſtify your* Numerous Addreſſes, *and therefore I humbly beg your leave to Dedicate the whole Work to you who indeed firſt gave it life.*

It may poſſibly ſeem ſtrange to ſome of you to find an Epiſtle Dedicatory in the end, as it were of a Work; but the thing hath been done before, and the truth is, I would not venture at a Dedication till I did ſee whether it would be received in the World, and now it is, I am ſorry I have nothing better to preſent you with whoſe Names deſerve to be Regiſtred to all ſucceeding Ages, and your Encomium *written*

Euſebius puts the Dedication of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in the beginning of the tenth and laſt Book of it.

ten by the most Elegant Pen the Christian World affords.

But Gentlemen, *it is not my design to Create a high opinion of you, in your selves, but to excite you to go on and perfect the good Work you have began, for that is the thing the Factious please themselves in,* viz. *That however you seem now, when time shall be, you will unsay all again, and joyn with them as heartily as any other against the Church and State, and this they have published in print; and that I may not seem to slander them, I will Transcribe the very words of one of them.*

An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the late Addresses, *Sect.* 2.

" No applications of this Nature to the reg-
" nant person are to be esteemed of any great
" Weight or Significancy; if you do but consi-
" der the result of the many Addresses Three
" and Twenty years ago to *Richard Cromwell*,
" and how they only served to render him se-
" cure till he was undermined and supplanted,
" for all the Sixteen Hundred Thousand that
" vowed to live and dye by him, not so much
" as one man drew a Sword for him when he
" came to be laid aside. I acknowledg that
" there is great difference betwixt an Usurper
" and a lawful Prince, (*he might have added also, and betwixt a parcel of men that had sworn and forsworn themselves as often as occasion required, and*

betrayed

betrayed thereby all parties one after another, and ſuch Addreſſors as theſe who applyed themſelves to their lawful and rightful Soveraign to whom they were true when his 1600000 *Rebelled, firſt againſt their Natural Prince, and when they had prevailed againſt him by Perjury and Violence, they made uſe of them one againſt another, till at length they ruined themſelves* "*too*) Yet that (*as he goes on*) detracts very " little in the preſent Caſe from the Impor- " tance of the Conſideration which I have ſug- " geſted, ſeeing the leaſt that we are to gather " from it is this, that no Addreſſes contrary to " the Intereſt and general Humour of the Na- " tion (*which he ſuppoſeth theſe were*) are to be " accounted of any value for a Prince to ſu- " ſtain himſelf upon. And if there be nothing " elſe to ſecure our late Addreſſors to his Maje- " ſty (*which he grants there is, they being his Na-* "*tural Subjects, and ever Loyal to him*) but their " promiſes and proteſtations in theſe papers, " he may be as much diſappointed, ſhould he " truſt to them, as the former Gentleman after " the like Security. *Thus far my Author, but he ought to have conſidered,* Richard *was turn'd out by the Army againſt whom theſe Addreſſors could not have protected him if they would, which added to the former of the temper of the different Addreſſors to*

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the several Parties, and their very distant or rather opposite positions, which he takes notice of, the one being an Usurper, and the other a lawful Prince, will make the two cases so totally unlike; that no consequence can be drawn from the one to the other, much less that bold one, that because Richard *was laid aside without any resistance made by the Addressers, therefore none is to be expected from these.*

But the truth is, tho you be never so sincere, yet you may be overpowred by force, and then all your protestations in these Papers will have no other effect then to betray you to ruine when ever these Godly Richardians *can get the mastery over you; to prevent which it is absolutely necessary to back your said Loyal Declarations with effectual supplies when necessity requires, and in the Interim to take all the care imaginable to win off as many as you can of the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation from siding with such men as my Author, in the next Election of Parliament-Men: and because I could do little more, I writ these three small discourses for that end, and how meanly soever I have performed my part in it, I beg your acceptance of my good intentions, and that you would in your several Stations promote this Work which is so absolutely necessary, by more effectual means.*

Amongst which I am perswaded none would succeed better then an Universal Execution of the Laws against

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the Diſſenters, Eſpecially thoſe againſt **Conventicles,** *for theſe are the Seed-places where factions are nurſed up till they may be ſtrong enough to graple with and overturn the Government of Church and State, and to this end the* Oxford *Act would be more ſubſervient in Corporations, then that of the* 22d *of his now Majeſties Reign. For if the Teachers were once removed out of theſe places, tho but to a diſtance of Five Miles, they would not ſo eaſily poyſon the ſmall Freemen with Rebellious principles; and thoſe that they have already ſeduced would in time become more tractable.*

One other means I would recommend to you, is the Communicating the Loyal diſcourſes that are every day printed to your Neighbours, which is done much more uſually by the Diſſenters by the other ſort, ſo that you ſhall ſometimes find a Seditious Libel to have paſſed through ſo many hands, that it is at laſt ſcarce Legible for durt and ſweat; whilſt the Loyal anſwer ſtands in a Gentlemans Study as clean and as neat as it came from the Preſs. But if the meaner ſort of men might but hear both the Parties, the Advantage the Government gives to the Loyal ſide, added to the ſtrength of their Reaſons, would certainly in time turn the Scale that way; and then they would be zealous too for the Government, when their Reaſons and Conſciences were once convinced that their Intereſt and Duty lay there.

And

And another is, the keeping (as much as is possible) of Factious men out of all places of Trust, Power, or Profit; which when they have once gained, they constantly imploy these private advantages to the publick dammage. Had this been duely Attended upon his Majesties Return, and practised ever since, we had not been in the danger we now are of being ruined the second time by them: but alas, they had plundred the Nation for 20 years together, and the Act of Indemnity made all this Ill-gotten wealth their own, and with it they purchased the far greatest part of the places of profit, whilst the poor Caviliers were excluded because they had nothing to give; and the rich because it was a shame to take any thing of them. And thus the Factious with the spoils of the Royal Party put themselves once more into a Capacity to ruin the Government, and having thus got much more wealth then they had before, they procured a great part of the places of Trust and Authority to be put into their hands too, and many Loyal persons turn'd Whigs in revenge and out of discontent.

But that which of all other things would the most speedily and effectually secure the Nation from a relaps into misery and confusion, is a surrender of the Charters of the Corporations into his Majesties hands, and the taking out of new ones with such restrictions as he and his Council thinks fit. Nor can I imagine

why

why this should be scrupled, it being the onely way that can secure them long in that Vast and disproportionable Priviledg they now have of sending up Burgesses to the Parliament, which as they had it at first from the Crown, so it was in danger to have been lost when the Government fell into O. C's. *Hands; and will go near to be lost in the Next Rebellion, and therefore it befits them, of all men, to Secure the King's Authority, which is the foundation of theirs.*

Gentlemen,

You may perhaps not thank me for thus offering my Advice before it was asked; but if you please to reflect Seriously upon what I have said, and also upon the Indignities the Author of the Pamphlet I mentioned have Cast upon you, it will soon appear reasonable to do all that is in your power to preserve your Selves out of the hands of such insolent men. And this is not to be done by Addressing *to the* King *onely, (tho that was well done too) but by addressing your selves to root out Faction by all the Lawful Means God in his Providence shall afford you: and if you be once resolved on this, no mans Counsel will be refused in a business of that Consequence, that it Needs the United Hands and Heads of the whole Nation to effect it.*

The impartial account of the Nature and Tendancy of the *Addresses.*

But that I may obtain your belief the better in relation to what concerns the Author I just now mention-

ed, I will tranſcribe ſome Paſſages out of him, Section the 7th, he tells us, " The Number of the Sub-
" ſcribers (*to the Addreſſes*) is not to ſo Conſide-
" rable as to bear any proportion to thoſe who
" are againſt them; for tho' a few buſie peo-
" ple have made a great noiſe and buz in ſeve-
" ral places of the Kingdom, yet all of them
" put together, make not ſo great a Number
" as we have ſeen not long ſince to one Peti-
" tion for a Parliament. *Now doubtleſs this his* Neglect and Scorn of your Paucity and Few-neſs, (*as he words it*) *as it proceeds from hence, that you were for the moſt part the* Governors, *or at leaſt the* Freemen *or* Freeholders *that* Addreſſed, *when the* Rabble *and their Children* Petitioned, *ſo it is intended to provoke his Mirmidons to fall upon you, and teach you more reſpect to his* Leviathan *The Multitude.*

This he proſecutes further, Section the 8th, *where he tells us,* " Tho' the Clergy and many of
" the preſent Commiſſioners both Civil and
" Military, and the Magiſtrates of ſeveral of
" the Corporations had not onely Intereſted
" themſelves in Countenancing the Addreſſes,
" but been Sticklers for them as for the Great
" *Charter* or the *Petition of Right*, and ſome of
" them had been Knighted meerly for that
" Service,

" Service, (*as he Contemptuouſly calls it*) yet could " not all this prevail with or bring over any " great or valuable Number to joyn in them. *The truth is, it was early days then, but I believe the Gentleman had enough at laſt, and it is no wonder that men of the quality he reckons up, ſhould not be Numerous.*

Yet Section 9th, *he tells us,* " Your quality was " as Inconſiderable as your Number, being ſuch " as for want of Years (*their Party are always of* " *Age if they can but tell their Names*) or Poverty " were never Capable of Giving a Vote in " Election of Members to Sit in Parliament, " and (a few excepted) the reſt made up of " the Scum and Refuſe of the Places where " they live. *Were all his Petitioners Worſhipful Gentlemen, Learned States-men and Lawyers, or Sound Divines, &c. tho the Order was, Care ſhould be taken the Subſcribers ſhould be numerous, tho they were neither* Gentlemen, *nor ſo much as* Freemen? *But he goes on,* " *Norwich,* whence we have been " alaramed with the greateſt Noiſe, yields but " a ſmall Number of perſons either of Eſtate " or Uſefulneſs, whoſe hands were Annexed " to the Paper which was ſent up. *Yet this ſmall number of Poor, Uſeleſs people, were the Governors*

and Common Councel of one of the Richeſt as well as Loyalleſt Cities of the Nation.

Section the 10th *he ſaith,* "That your Moral "Conditions were agreeable to your Civil, "men Popiſhly inclined. Abhorrers of Peti- "tions, or guilty of one or other offence which "the late Parliaments were about calling "them to an Account for: the reſt were little "Bankrupt Tradeſmen, Scandalous and diſ- "graced Attorneys: men whoſe folly made "them pragmatical and impertinent, or whoſe "prodigality and ambition forced them to "look for preferment above their merit. So "that did but his Majeſty know, (*and Value the "Judgment of the Petitioners*) he would eſteem it "a reflection upon his Honour, and an Aſper- "ſion upon the Wiſdom and the Equity of his "Proceedings, to be either Approached or "Thanked by them. *Yet this is a little more modeſt, than for a parcel of ſuch men to come forth and tell him againſt his Declared* * *Reſolution,* That it was neceſſary to ſuffer the Parliament to Sit preſently: *for this was to Teach him. And you may*

* By Two Proclamations, one of the 11*th* day of *Decemb.* 1679. for Proroguing the Parliament till the 11*th* of *Novemb.* following. And the other Publiſhed the 12*th* day of *Decemb.* 1679. againſt Theſe Tumultuous Petitions, as contrary to the Common and Known Laws of the Land: and tending to promote Diſcontents amongſt the People, and to raiſe Sedition and Rebellion, &c.

from

from this Character perceive what Treatment you muſt Expect from theſe Gentlemen *if ever they get an Advantage againſt you.*

Section the 11th *he tells us,* " Your Politicks " were equal with your Morals; for can any " man believe (*ſaith he*) that the Mayors, Head- " boroughs, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgeſſes and " Freemen of *Ripon*, *Wigan*, *Windſor*, *Chatham*, " *Hazelmeere*, *New-Sarum*, &c. are Competent " Judges what the late Houſe of Commons " did legally or illegally? &c. *Yet this is not altogether ſo difficult, as 'tis to tell when it is fit a Parliament ſhould Sit, and when it is not fit, becauſe this depends on certain known and fixed Rules, which the other doth not, but is to be judged by the preſent ſtate of Forraign and Domeſtick Affairs; things that are known to few men.* Then *he goes on and tells us,* " The Learned Gentlemen of the Gown were " at leaſt as well qualified to give their ſence " and opinion about theſe matters, as Country " Mercers, Inn-Keepers, Taylors and Thatch- " ers (*You muſt know, the* London *Tradeſmen are next Neighbours to his Learned Gown-men, and ſo are Excepted by the Addition of the word* Country.) *And yet he tells us,* " Thoſe refuſed to meddle " with Addreſſes, &c. *But, Sir, did any of them.*

Sign

Sign your Petitions, I pray! if they did not, to uſe your own words a little varied, 20000 *hands, to* your Petitions, *will not make that impreſsion on the Minds of Modeſt thinking men, as their being Caſt out too by the* Benchers *and* Barriſters *of the Inns of Court will.*

*He Concludes, Sect.*22. *with this Threat,* "That "as you muſt Expect that the judgment which "you have paſſed upon perſons and things, will "at one time or another come under a review; "So matters which have either been miſrepre- "ſented by you, or in reference to which Par- "liaments (*you know which he means*) have been "Arraigned, may before then, come to be ſo "well underſtood by his Majeſty, and all "things ſo well Adjuſted between Him and "his People, that you (*the Addreſſers*) may nei- "ther find your ſelves able to decline, nor be "in a condition to Control the Juriſdiction of "the next Parliament, to which, *he ſaith*, he "ſhall at preſent leave you. *And you may be ſure he expects it will be ſuch an One as the Laſt were, and then he thinks he ſhall not need to wiſh you a worſe puniſhment.*

At this Inſolent rate you have been treated in Print, and what can follow but the Utmoſt Revenge this worſt

worſt ſort of Men can inflict upon you, if ever they get you again under their power. I have read, That in the end of the laſt War there was a Motion made at a Council of War, for a general Maſſacre of all the principal Malignants, *as they then ſtiled the King's Party, and that it was Carried in the Negative by a few Votes; and Conſidering the Rage, Malice and Diſpair of theſe men to accompliſh their Trayterous Deſigns of Subverting the Government any other way, now the Kingdom hath taken the Alarm, and not only Addreſſed, but Abhorred their* Aſſociation *too, it is but reaſonable to Expect it will not be again overruled if Ever they be in a Capacity to put it to the Vote the Second time: which God prevent.*

My Intentions were to have ended this Epiſtle here, it being but too long already; but there is one Paſſage in this Pamphlet I judge abſolutely neceſſary to be Conſidered, the words are Theſe; " Tho men are " to be eſteemed capable of knowing their " own Wants, Fears and Dangers, and ought " to be juſtified in begging thoſe means of Re- " lief and Redreſs which the Law hath provi- " ded for them; yet every one is not to be " accounted Sufficiently qualified to Deter- " mine concerning the Reaſonableneſs and " Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and *Sect. 2.*

" Re-

"Resolves; nor is any Number of Men what-
"soever Impowred to Umpire differences be-
"tween his Majesty and his Great Council.
This is the pretence that justified the last War, and as long as it stands for a Maxime at this loose rate it is here pen'd, will justifie Ten thousand one after another; and therefore it cannot but be worth a small parcel of your time to Enquire and Consider how much truth or falsehood there is in it.

And in the first place it cannot be denyed, but that every man ought to have the Liberty to propose his own personal Wants, Fears and Dangers *to his Superiors, and to be allowed thereupon to beg such Redress as the Law hath provided: but then to infer from hence, that he hath an Equal right or ability to Consider of the Publick and National* Wants, Fears and Dangers, *and to beg the* Enacting of New Laws, *or the Repeal of Old Laws, for the removing of them: or, which is all one, the Calling, or Sitting, the Continuance, or Changing, of Parliaments to that purpose, is so gross a delusion, so full of Danger, and doth so immediately tend to Sedition and Rebellion, Especially if Multitudes of Factious men may be allowed to pretend what* Fears, Wants and Dangers, *they please, and then in a Tumultuary way to beg what Redress they think fit, by Petitions signed by* 40, 50, *or* 60 *thousand*

thouſand men at a time, that it was prohibited by an Act of Parliament upon Experience of the Miſchief it hath done, and the foreſight of what it will do as often as it is uſed, it being deſtructive to any Government whatſoever.

13 Car. 2. cap. 5.

As to the Second *Propoſition, It is to be acknowledged, That every one is not to be accounted Sufficiently qualified to Determine concerning the Reaſonableneſs and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Reſolves; But then 'tis not fit to infer from thence, Firſt, That no man is ſo qualified; nor Secondly, That it is impoſsible but that all their Proceedings ſhould be Legal and Reaſonable. Nor Thirdly, That any man ought to approve of, and ſubmit to them, whether they be ſo or no. For tho it is moſt certain, there are but few men are ſo qualified; yet it is as Certain, that ſome men even amongſt the* Addreſſers *were, if many Years Sitting in Parliament will qualifie a perſon of great abilities for it: And it is no leſs certain, That the Proceedings of Two or Three Parliaments within the Memory of Man, have been not onely Unreaſonable and Illegal, but Trayterous and Rebellious; and we are not ſure* but *that we may have more ſuch, if God be not the Mercifuller to us: and if any ſuch ſhould happen to be, and we ſhould joyn with them, tho but out of a Modeſt Opinion that we are not ſufficiently qualified to Determine concerning*

That of 1640, 1649, 1653, 1656. in none of which, Excepr the firſt, was there any Royal Writ at all. Lord Chancell. Speech, *May* the 8th, 1661.

the Legality *and* Reaſonableneſs *of* Parliamentary Proceedings *and* Reſolves; *yet it would neither Excuſe the Guilt, nor prevent the Puniſhment that is due by Law to them who ſhall Rebel againſt the King, tho in Obedience to a Parliament.*

To the Third, That no Number of Men whatſoever is Impowred to Umpire betwixt his Majeſty and his Great Council; *may be anſwered, That there is an ambiguity in the word* Umpire, *and it may be taken not only different, but contrary wayes, and therefore it ought not to have been uſed in this place.*

And Secondly, That if any difference ſhould happen to ariſe betwixt him and them, we ought not to reſiſt the King, nor to aſsiſt his Great Council againſt him with Force and Arms, tho the King ſhould be in the Wrong, and they in the Right; for that is Determined in Parliament already.

13 Car. 2. cap. 6.

Thirdly, It is true, That no Number of men whatſoever have any authority to hear and determine their Differences in a Judicial way, ſo as to compel them to ſubmit to their judgment; for then that Number of men ſhould be Superior both to King and Barliament; but all this notwithſtanding ſeeing the Houſe of Commons Appealed to the People by Printing their Votes, &c. and the King by publiſhing his Gracious Declaration, *why might not the* Addreſſers, *ſo far approve*

prove of His Majeſties Proceedings, as to Thank Him for the Satisfaction he had given them, and to promiſe him to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which they were bound to do however.

Fourthly, It may be anſwered, That beſides the Differences betwixt the King and the Commons, and the Lords and Commons, there were ſome Differences betwixt the Commons and ſome of them that Addreſſed afterwards; they had Impriſoned ſeveral Gentlemen and other Subjects which they conceived then (as perhaps they do ſtill) were Illegal and Unreaſonable Proceedings, and they were as capable of Knowing their want of Protection, and as ſenſible of the Dangers, and Fears of further Oppreſsion as other men, and therefore they ought to have been Juſtified if they had begged thoſe means of Relief *and* Redreſs *which the Law had provided for them; but yet they* Patiently *and* Silently *Expected the Iſſue till* GOD *put it into His Mejeſties Royal Breaſt (in whoſe hands are the Hearts of Kings) to declare theſe their Proceedings* ARBITRARY; *and might they not then riſe up and Thank their Soveraign for the Favour he had ſhown them? It is hard to conceive upon this Man's principles they might not have Petitioned His Majeſty for Relief and Redreſs before this time, but yet no man did it.*

And in Relation to the Differences betwixt His

Majesty and the Commons, and the Upper and the Lower House, what necessity is there that the Addressers should approve of them; for tho the Commons were their Representatives and Trustees, the King is their Soveraign, and the Lords are not Aliens and Foreigners, but the Two highest States of this our Native Country: and altho the Addressers *pretend no Authority over that Supreme Court of Jurisdiction, yet what reason is there why they may not approve of what the Lords have done well, tho the Commons will not?*

Upon the whole therefore I crave Leave to Conclude, That the Addressors *in* General *have done nothing but what may be fairly Justified, and was necessary to Satisfie his Majesty and the World, that there was a Considerable Part of the Nation did not approve of what was done in the Names of the whole by the Commons in Parliament: and if it be the Duty of every English man to fight for his King, if occasion require, against any Party that ever shall hereafter pretend to have the Authority of both or either of the Houses to back them, as I humbly conceive is most plain, then why may not they right his Majesty with their Pens, who must do it with their Swords; why may they not* Approve *his Cause as well as* Defend it?

13 Car. 2. cap. 6.

And if this be not allowed, Any King of England *may be Deposed and Murthered as the*

late

late King *was*; *for if there be a* Blind Obedience *due to all the* Votes *of Parliament, and no man may in any Case judge them* Illegal *and* Unreasonable; *then must all men absolutely Submit to them, and obey them; and the Consequence is, if any future Parliament shall* Vote *any future* King, ~~or~~ or *Monarchy it self a* Grievance *to the Nation, and those that stand by them Enemies to the Kingdom, if no man may Contradict such a* Vote, *nor any Number of Men how great soever Umpire betwixt the King and his Great Council; that is, Defend him against his Parliament, the effect will Certainly follow; and as this is the natural Tendance of these Principles as we saw in the Late Troubles, so I can conceive no other cause why they should be now again insinuated into the Heads of the Rabble.*

13 Car. 2. cap. 1. §. 2.

For these Men who pretend to reverence the Three Last Parliaments at such a Prodigious rate, do traduce that which went immediately before most abominably; and those who are so tender of the Votes of these, care as little for the Established Lawes of the former, as I do for the Decrees of the Council of Trent, *or of the Synod of* Dort: *So that it is plain, it is not respect to Parliaments as Parliaments, that makes them thus obsequious; but as made up of such a Sort of men, and Driving on such Designs and Interests.*

The late Long Parliament tho filled with *Danby* his Pensioners, The Modest Vindication of the Two last Parliaments, p. 11.

To

To return then, Gentlemen, from this long Digreſſion, which I have inſerted only to Juſtifie You, I will Conclude, That as you have begun bravely, ſo you muſt go thro with the buſineſs, or Expect a Revenge from the Oppoſite Party equal to their Rage; and tho I Know you do not fear them, yet I would Adviſe you not to be too Secure of them, but let your Vigilance, Induſtry, and Application to all Sorts of Men, be equal to theirs at leaſt; and then it is Ten thouſand to one, you ſhall never try either theirs or your own Valour, and as your Caſe is better, ſo let it inſpire you with more Reſolution to Stand and Fall with it; and his Moſt hearty Prayers for a good Succeſs upon all your Loyal Undertakings and Deſigns, ſhall never be wanting, who is

Your moſt Devoted

Servant.

THE

THE

Third Part

OF THE

ADDRESS

TO THE

FREE-MEN and FREE-HOLDERS

OF THE

NATION.

HIS Majesty by the Blessing of GOD having Suppreſt the ſhort *Scotch* Rebellion, which in great part miſcarried by the timeing of it, tho no human fore-ſight on their part could have prevented that, His Majeſty firſt Proroguing and then Diſſolving that Parliament which ſeem'd to be the occaſion of it, with ſuch

ſuch Secrecy and Quickneſs, that their Friends at *London* could give them no previous Notice of his Intentions ſo to do: So that beſides the total diſappointing them of all that Countenance, Ayd and Aſſiſtance they promiſed themſelves from *England*, many of their Friends at home, whoſe Crimes being leſs, had not the ſame neceſſity, or whoſe Zeal was not of that fiery temper with theirs, and therefore were prudently reſolved (tho they wiſhed well to the deſign) yet not to hazard their ſweet Lives and Fortunes in it till they ſaw what Succeſs theſe firſt Venturers had, who hearing of the Prorogation of the Parliament, and being doubtleſs admoniſhed by their *London* Friends at the ſame time not to ſtir during this ſhort Receſs, (as they then thought it would be) layd by all thoughts of Joyning with them and Augmenting their Numbers, and the Privy Councils in both Nations attending ſolely to that buſineſs, it was Extinguiſhed almoſt as eaſily as it began.

Upon which His Majeſty by his Royal Proclamation Diſſolved this Parliament, and Iſſued out Writs for another to Sit at *Weſtminſter* the Seventeenth day of *October*, 1679. Hoping his Subjects duly reflecting upon the Miſcarriages of the Laſt Houſe of Commons, and the Danger the Nation had ſo narrowly eſcaped of Being involved in another deſtructive Inteſtine War, at a time when the Victorious Arms of *France* hung like a dreadful Cloud over our heads, and the High Diſcontents of the Popiſh Party, which were inflamed and inraged both by the Diſcovery and Proſecutions of the late Plot, lay broyling in the Bowels of the Nation, would proceed with more Prudence and Caution in the Next Elections, and ſend Him up men of Better Tempers, or that at leaſt theſe Gentlemen by that Act, ſeeing He was reſolved to keep the Reins in his own hands, and to let them Sit

or

or Diſſolve them according as they behaved themſelves, would thereby be kept in better awe for the future, and make uſe of a little more calmneſs in their Proceedings, if it were but to continue their Being.

But alas, His Majeſty ſoon found himſelf deceived in his Expectation, the common people who ſee with other mens eyes, and follow as they are led, and that is for the moſt part, the wrong way, were eaſily perſwaded to believe in the firſt place that this Parliament was Prorogued and Diſſolved onely to prevent the Tryal of the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*; tho the Not Trying of them was one of the greateſt Cauſes that Moved his Majeſty to it, as appears plainly both by the Journals of both the Houſes, and his Majeſties Speech in the Concluſion of that Seſſion of Parliament; and altho theſe Five Lords were brought to the Bar, and the Commons ſummon'd to give in Evidence againſt them that very day that they were Prorogued, they refuſed to do it.

And on the other ſide, the Malecontents rejoyced greatly in it, being well aſſured that the ſame Men would be choſen again, and ſo made uſe of this Diſſolution as a means to incenſe the People againſt the King and the Government, and to increaſe the real or pretended fears of Men by their Loud Clamours againſt *French* Penſioners, Popery, Arbitrary Government, and the like, which both in diſcourſe and Print (the Preſs being now at Liberty from its former reſtraint) they objected with equal Confidence and Falſhood againſt the Loyal Gentlemen that had oppoſed them.

But beſides theſe general Charges, they made ſpecial uſe of two things that fell out in the laſt Parliament, and that had a mighty influence upon the Minds of the populace and other Unthinking men. The firſt of which was to repreſent all thoſe Gentlemen of the

Houſe of Commons who had Voted againſt the Bill for Excluding his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, as Papiſts, or at leaſt Popiſhly affected ; and for my part, I believe it was the principal Motive of bringing in that Bill : for it is ſcarce poſſible but that they muſt ſee, after that Second Declaration that his Majeſty made in that very Seſſion concerning the Succeſſion : and the Houſe of Lords refuſing to joyn with them in the firſt of theſe Votes that introduced that Bill, that they ſhould never be able to get it paſs into an *Act*, but then they might eaſily foreſee however it would be a powerful means of inciting the People againſt all that ſhould oppoſe it, and prevail with them to paſs a Sentence upon them as Popiſhly affected at leaſt, if not down-right Arrant Papiſts ; and herein they had great part of their deſign, and there was no Motive more frequently uſed than this, and for the moſt part it was driven a little higher and urged againſt his Majeſty too, as by the bye, thus, *What, will you give your Voice for—— who is a Papiſt, and Voted for the Duke of* York *in the laſt Parliament, who is an Arrant Papiſt, and the King is little better.* Which words were actually ſpoken by one of that Party, and Sworn upon him at his Majeſty's Suit, and for which the party was Fined Five hundred Marks in the *Kings-Bench.* And by this Sole Argument they prevailed to Exclude almoſt all thoſe Gentlemen, and to fill up their places with men of their own principles, and traduced his Majeſty, the Court, and all the Miniſters of State, and almoſt all the Gentry and Loyal Clergy too for endeavouring to have theſe men choſen again.

The Second Thing that they made great advantage of, was the pretended diſcovery of Sir *S. Fox* of the Penſioners in the Long Loyal Parliament; which diſcovery being haſtily

haſtily made, and No Record of it being entred, they took the Confidence to Add to it whomſoever they were pleaſed to have ſo thought, by the ſmall Free-men and Free-holders, and that was a Number it may be double and treble to that Sir *S.* mentioned; however I am ſure that the Written Liſts that were then ſpread abroad, and which were all of Equal Authority, or pretended to be ſo, did not agree, ſome having more Names than other, and I am well aſſured that ſome Perſons Named were not Penſioners, nor could be ſo; and therefore I believe Sir *S.* never ſaid they were; but they were added by the Tranſcribers,according to their private Intereſts or Paſſions, but they made the People believe they knew who would be Penſioners too, which was ſomewhat difficult, and led the diffidence to that height, as to Exclude, as far as they could poſſibly, not onely all the Courtiers and other Perſons who had any Places of Profit and Advantage under his Majeſty, but their Relations too; and Wanted not much that they had Excluded all thoſe who bore any honorary Imployments or Offices, ſuch as Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace. So that nothing now recommended a man ſo effectually for a Parliament-man, as that he had not been thought fit to be truſted in the leaſt by his Majeſty or their Neighbour Gentry; or having been ſo,had been turned out: all which were applauded as Men not to be bought, Enemies to the Court,and Miniſters, and therefore true Friends to the Proteſtant Religion and the Country. All which tended (as they ſaid) to the Advancement of his Majeſties Service, and to the increaſing the Love of the People towards him and the Government, and he was a hard-hearted man who called the Sincerity of their Loyal intentions in queſtion.

Theſe two being added to all the Ill ways they had made uſe of in the former Election, no wonder if his Majeſty was not Satisfied with the Returns, when he ſaw by them what men he was to meet in his next Houſe of Commons. Whereupon his Majeſty Prorogued them at the day of their meeting till a further time, and ſo kept them from meeting to Sit till the 21*th.* of *October*, 1680. And now let us ſee how they behaved themſelves in this Interval. Wherein I ſhall deſire the Reader's Excuſe if I do not relate things in that preciſe order they fell out, it being nothing material to my purpoſe.

His Majeſties Intentions of Proroguing the Parliament from time to time, ſo as not to permit a Seſsion till the time he had deſigned, which was a Year, being once known, the great Contrivers of all our Diſturbances, who met, and ordered all things in Clubbs and cloſe Cabals, fell into the greateſt Paſſion imaginable, they had carried things to that height, out of deſign to force the King to Diſſolve that Parliament, or yield more than he could either ſpare or recall; but then they had made their count he could not continue long without another Parliament, and the quick choyce, and the temper of the Men generally Returned was, as they gave out in their Pamphlets, according to their hearts deſire: But then if they might be diſſolved or prorogued when ever they came to Redreſs the Grievances of the People, that is, when ever his Majeſty pleaſed to think it Expedient, and eſpecially for ſo long a time, the heat the People were then in might cool, other thoughts might ariſe, the fears of an immediate Execution of the Plot upon them, might appear (as they knew they were) vain and falſe. His Majeſty might Recover his Eſtimation with his People, and ſhew he was able to Subſiſt with-

Appeal from the Country to the City.

without preſent Supplies from a Parliament; and which grieved them moſt of all, he might in this time Root up the Reliques of the *Scotch* Rebellion in ſuch manner, that no aſſiſtance would afterwards be to be had from thoſe *Northern* Brethren, what need ſoever they might have of them; which is as good as confeſt by the Author of the Appeal to the City.

To prevent theſe and ſeveral other dreadful Conſequences of this Nature, they caſt their heads what courſe they ſhould take, the way of Pamphlets was ſlow and uncertain, and they had almoſt Cloyed the Appetite of the Nation with that Crude ſort of Rebellious and Diſloyal Diſcourſes, which ſerved rather for the divertiſement to Idle men, then gave them any great Advantage, at leaſt for the preſent; and they had need, in this affair, of ſome very quick and powerful Expedient, that might work upward upon the King, and downward upon the People.

Neither could they then bethink themſelves of any better remedy than to revive the old way of Tumultuous Petitions, ſigned by all ſorts of people, and that in vaſt Numbers. The firſt of which ſort, as I believe, was the *Mille manus* Petition Preſented to King *James*; Tho as *Fuller* acquaints us, there was onely 750 * Preachers hands ſet to it, and thoſe Collected out of 25 Counties. Yet afterwards, Eſpecially in the beginning of the Laſt Rebellion, when they had any great Deſign to bring about, which they had reaſon to expect would be oppo-

An. 1603. *C. Hiſ.* Book 9. *Pag.* 7.

* But after this the Author ſaith other Petitions were ſet a foot about the ſame time for Aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, and ſetting up *Presbytery*; To which no Hand that had five Fingers, was Refuſed; and that *George* Lord *Goring*, then a Boy, ſet his hand to one of them, in the right (I believe) of his Mother, a good Lady much Addicted to that Party. *Fuller. Ib. pag.* 24.

ſed;

ſed ; Next to bringing great Numbers of mean and tumultuous people down to *White-Hall* and *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with rude and loud Clamours to Say over again what they had firſt inſpired into them : This I now mention of Sending into the City of *London*, and the Remoter Corporations and Counties, of Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declarations to the King, or both or either Houſes of Parliament, for alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, redreſs of Pretended Grievances in Church or State, or other publick Concernments was one ſpecial means they often made uſe of, and that with great Succeſs, *Theſe Petitions, as the Learned Dr.* Hammond *tells us, were for the moſt part framed and put into the Peoples hands even in ſet preſcribed forms*, and then committed to certain Confiding men, who carried them to the places appointed, and there ſolicited as many as they could poſſibly to Sign the ſame, not regarding ſo much the Quality as the Number of the Subſcribers, who for the moſt part were mean Mechanicks, Illiterate ignorant Countrymen, Servants, Apprentices, Journeymen and Children ; which Petitions they after delivered with great Numbers of People to the King or Parliament, and were deſigned by them that then ſet them afoot, not ſo much to perſwade or intreat, as to terrifie and compel, every Petitioner being as it were Liſted to force, if he could not otherwiſe obtain his deſire. And accordingly this way was made uſe of, when either the King or the Major part of either Houſe would not be drawn otherwiſe to Comply with theſe Republicans; and afterwards when they came to be imployed againſt them, or to croſs their humours or Intereſts, they diſcountenanced them as much as they could ; tho all this would have been too little, if they had not made uſe of Arms againſt theſe bold Suiters, the Apprentices of

13 Car. 2. cap. 5.

Vind. of the Liturgy, Sect. 28. cap. 2.

Short View of the late Troubles, p. 83, *pro* 81.

Short View of the Late Troubles, *pag.* 85, 86. 89. 234.

of *London*, *July* the 26. 1647. ſhutting up the Commons Doors, and Compelling them to yield the City the Ordering of their own Militia; and alſo to paſs a Vote, *That the King ſhould be admitted to come to London* to Treat; which tho it were ſufficiently revenged, yet when afterwards *Eſſex* and * *Surrey* Petitioned again for a Peace in that manner, they ſent the Guards to beat them away; whereupon divers were wounded, and ſome ſlain. And as to the *Kentiſh-men*, who by their Grand Jury about the ſame time had framed a Petition for Peace in the Name of the whole Shire, they by the *Committee* for that County prohibited the ſame, by a Printed Paper publiſhed in all the Churches, Branding it to be SEDITIOUS and TUMULTUOUS, and ſaying, that *They would hang up two in every Pariſh, that were promoters of it, and Sequeſter the reſt.* Which was to declare themſelves *Abhorrers* with a *Vengeance.*

Ibid. 248. *Ib.*282,283. * *May* 26, 48.

Yet this Unruly Engine was the only tool our Sober Proteſtants could at this time think powerful enough to Compel his Majeſty to recede from his declared Reſolution, and permit the Parliament to Sit forthwith; and the method they uſed was preciſely the ſame that had been imployed againſt his Majeſty's Father of Bleſſed Memory, *viz.* theſe Petitions were drawn by their Clubbs and Cabals in *London*: or ſome ſay onely tranſcribed from an Old 41. Copy, and then ſent down by truſty men who had five ſhillings *per Centum*, for procuring hands, and * that of all Sorts and Ages, Degrees and Qualities; not caring who they were, ſo the Number was great: And I have been told this Story from

* The Inſtructions were, *That it mattered not tho they were neither Gentlemen nor Free-holders, but that they* (the Procurers of Subſcriptions) *ſhould get as many Hands as they could.*

Credible

Credible hands, One of these Procurers coming to a Godly Weaver in *Essex* to get his hand to the Petition, bethought himself that the Weaver had a Boy to his Son, and asked if he would not Subscribe too? *Yes*, replyed the Weaver, *if he were at home, but he is now gone with a Cow to a Neighbour's Bull. That is nothing*, said the Petition-Monger, *I can set his hand.* Which he accordingly presently did, and made the poor Boy become an humble Supplicant to the King, when he thought of nothing less. But I must confess they varied in one thing from the Old method; for they did not present them as heretofore by the hands of great Multitudes of the Petitioners, but sent them by some few persons of the better sort, which was a Civility was not so much paid to his Majesty, as his Guards, who might have endangered these Gentlemen Orators Skulls, if they had made as bold with the Son, as their Predecessors did with the Unarmed Father.

For my part, when I reflect seriously on this Stratagem, I cannot perswade my self they had any great hope to prevail upon the King by it; who too well remembred what ill Consequences had followed this way of proceeding in the Reign of his Father, to Countenance it in his own, by granting any thing that was so asked. And therefore I conceive the Cunningest of them had these further ends in it: First, to Engage men by these Subscriptions to be more fast to them, and their designs. Secondly, To Try whether the People might be brought to Tumult if they had occasion for it. Thirdly, To incense them the more against the Government if these Petitions were denyed, by representing it as a personal injury to them, every man being Naturally more fond of his own than anothers Counsel. Fourthly, to shew the Number and Strength of

of their Adherents. Fifthly, To make them known each to other, to which end the Odd Phraſes, Whining Tones, Devout ſhruggs of old, and the Green Ribbans of late, were taken up alſo.

But whatever the deſign was, his Majeſty having the Authority of a *Statute* on his ſide wiſely provided in better times, had the Addreſs to diſappoint this Project; Firſt, by a Proclamation, which prohibited this * *Exerciſe* as Illegal and Tumultuous, and tending to Sedition and Rebellion. Secondly, by diſcountenancing and ſharply reprehending thoſe that were ſo ſilly as to preſent them. Thirdly, by encouraging another Sort of perſons who upon better grounds were as ready to deteſt and abhor them in a more Regular and Legal way; and theſe being for the moſt part men of Authority in their Country, ſo quelled this many-headed *Hydra*, that the triple Cordial of a Commons Vote have not been able ſince to Revive it: And ſo I ſhall take my leave of it, till I come to thoſe Votes and the proceedings upon them.

13 Car. 2. c. 5. as alſo by the Judgment of all the Judges, 2 *Jacobi.*

* *Practiſe.*

In the Interim, I deſire my dear Countrymen, they would reflect Seriouſly upon what is here ſaid, and remember what fruits they reaped of this pernicious ſeed the laſt time they were prompted by this Sort of men to the uſe of it, and how they Treated the *Surrey* and *Kentiſh* men for uſing it to a purpoſe for which it was never deſigned, the procuring PEACE.

His Majeſty therefore Prorogued the Parliament from the 17*th* of *October*, to the 26 of *January*, and then meeting them in Perſon and making a Gracious Speech to them, Prorogued them to the 15*th* of *April*, and then to the 17*th* of *May*, and from thence to the Firſt of *July*, and ſo on to the 22*d.* of the ſame, and thence to the 23*d.* of *Auguſt*, and from thence to the 21. of *Octo-*

ber, 1679. when he declared they ſhould finally Sit according to his former Reſolution; which the Petitions had more confirmed him in.

In the Interim ſeveral things hapned worth the taking Notice of, as giving us ſome Light into the Deſigns of the Common-wealth Party and the Temper of the Diſſenters, by which we may Judge what we ſhall meet with at their hands if ever they prevail again.

The firſt I will Inſtance in was their Treatment of the *London* Apprentices. Some of them had been buſy in Burning the Pope, and after that had been drawn in to Sign the Petition; but finding they had diſobliged others by it, to give ſome Satisfaction, they gave Notice in Print, That they would burn the *Rump* the 29*th* of *May* following; and this was taken for ſuch an affront, by the Young Gentlemen of that Old Family of *Rumpers*, that preſently all the Prentices were made Traytors, Conſpirators, moſt of them ſaid to be Papiſts, for which ſeveral of them were Impriſoned, and it was much grief of heart to the *Merciful Rumpers* too, that they were not Hanged; and one of them, with great regret, told the following Parliament, *That he thought* Cap. Tom. *was at* Tangier, *who ſhould have headed the Apprentices Mutiny in* London; *and if* (ſaith the Gentleman) *I be not Miſ-informed, is a Captain too for that intended Eminent Service.* A Sad Story if it was true, and there was no miſ-information in the caſe ſome where or other: but this was onely meant for a Kind Reflection on the Government, which is grown of late ſtrangely in Love with Mutinies, and doubtleſs made Capt. *Tom*, a Captain there not onely to reward him for his Eminent Intended Service in *London*, but to put him into a Capacity of promoting a Tumult or Mutiny there too. Upon

L'Eſtrange's Narr. of the *Plot*, *pag.* 15. 4to.

Exact Collection of Debated p. 112.

on this Occaſion I am ſhrewdly tempted to remember ſome of the 41. Tumults and Mutinies in behalf of the *Rump*; but becauſe they were not Popiſh but *Puritan* Mutinies, and for the Service of the *Common-wealth of England*, I will forbear it: Onely I will give the World a Caution not to be mightily Surprized, if afterwards the Late Addreſſing Apprentices be clawed away for Papiſts and Mutineers too, If there be not too many of them.

In the beginning of *May*, his Majeſty had two or three Fits of an Ague, which went off again without any great hazard to his Life; yet this occaſioned ſome conſiderable Events. In one of the Fits there was ſome tampering among his back-Friends for the Proclaiming his Grace the D. of *M.* King, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould die of that Sickneſs.

About that time, that there was a Pamphlet Printed to make out a Title for him too, pretending to ſome Strange Diſcoveries to be made of a *Black Box*, that ſhould do the D. *much Kindneſs*; but tho his Majeſty and the Privy-Council took all the Care imaginable to diſcover the Author of this *Black Box*-diſcourſe, it could not be found: And to prevent the Ill Effects of ſuch Rumors for the future, his Majeſty Publiſhed a Declaration the 2^d^ of *June*, 1679. which tho it hath been already printed, and is Long, yet becauſe it may be very hard to produce it ſome Years hence, I will take the pains to Inſert it here, from the *Gazette* of the *7th* of *June*, 1680.

CHARLES R.

WE cannot but take Notice of the great Industry and Malice wherewith some men of a **Seditious** *and* **Restless Spirit,** *do spread abroad a most False and Scandalous Report of A Marriage or Contract of Marriage, supposed to be had and made between Us and one Mrs.* **Walters,** alias **Barlow,** *now Deceased, Mother of the present Duke of* **Monmouth, aiming** *thereby to fill the Minds of Our Loving Subjects with Doubts and Fears, and if possible to divide them into Parties and Factions, and as much as in them lies, to bring into question the Clear Undoubted Right of Our True and Lawful Heirs and Successors to the Crown. We have therefore thought Our Self Obliged to Let our Loving Subjects see what steps We (out of Our Care of them and their Posterity) have already made, in order to Obviate the Ill Consequences that so dangerous and Malicious a Report may have in Future Times upon the Peace of Our Kingdoms.*

In January *Last was Twelvemonth, We made a* Declaration *written with Our Own Hand in the Words following.*

THere being a False and Malicious Report Industriously spread abroad by Some, **Who are Neither Friends to Me nor the Duke of Monmouth,** *as if I should have been Either Contracted or Married to his Mother: and though I am most Confident that this Idle Story, cannot have any Effect in this Age, Yet I thought it my Duty in relation to the true Succession of this Crown, and that future Ages may not have any pretence to give disturbance upon that Score or any other of this Nature, to declare, as*

I

I do here declare in the presence of Almighty God, That I was never Married, nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatsoever, but to My Wife Queen Catherine, *to whom I am now Married. In Witness whereof I have set My Hand at* White-Hall *the Sixth of* January 1679.

This Declaration *I made in the Presence of*

CHARLES R.

W. Cant. *H. Coventry,*
H. Finch, C. *J. Williamson.*

To strengthen which Declaration, We did in March *following (which was* March *last was Twelve-month) make a more Publick* Declaration *in Our Privy Council, written likewise with Our Own Hand; and having caused a true Transcript thereof to be Entred in Our Council Books, We Signed it, and caused the Lords of Our Privy Council then attending Us in Council, to Subscribe the same likewise; and We Ordered the Original to be kept in the Council Chest, where it Now remains. The Entry whereof in the Council Book is in these words following.*

At the Court at *White-Hall, March* 3d. 1679.

Present

The KING'S *Most Excellent Majesty.*

Lord Chancellor,
Lord Treasurer,
Duke of Lauderdale,
Marquess of Worcester,
Earl of Ossory,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Clarendon,
Earl of Essex,
Earl of Bathe,
Earl of Craven,
Earl of Aylesbury,
Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Bishop of Durham,
Lord Maynard,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,

His

His Majesty was this day pleased to Command that the Declaration *hereafter following be Entered in the Council-Book, it being all Written and Signed by his Majesty's Own Hand, in a Paper which his Majesty this day delivered at the Board, to be Kept in the Council Chest,* viz.

FOR *the avoiding of Any dispute which may happen in time to come concerning the Succession of the Crown, I do hereby Declare in the Presence of Almighty* God, *That I Never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was Married to any Woman whatsoever, but to My present Wife Queen* Catherine *now Living.*

White-Hall *the Third day of* March, 1679. CHARLES *R.*

His Majesty Commanded us who were present at the making and Signing this Declaration, *to attest the same.*

Finch, *C.*	Ossory,	Essex,	H. London,
Danby,	Arlington,	Bathe,	N. Durham,
Lauderdale,	Sunderland,	Craven,	W. Maynard,
Worcester,	Clarendon,	Aylesbury,	G. Carteret.

In April *Last We found the same Rumour not only* Revived *again, but also* Improved *with New Additions, to wit, It was given out, That there was a* Writing *yet* Extant, *and lately produced before several Persons, whereby the said* Marriage *or* Contract *at least, (for the Report was Various) would appear, and that there are several Lords and others yet Living, who were pretended to have been present at the said Marriage. We Knew full well that it was Impossible that any thing of this should be true, (there being Nothing more Groundless and False then that there was*

any

any such Marriage or Contract between Us and the said Mrs. Walters *alias* Barlow) *Yet We proceeded to call before Us, and caused to be Interrogated in the Council such Lords and other persons as the Common Rumour did Surmise to have been present at the pretended Marriage, or to Know something of it, or of the said Writing. And Though it appeared to all Our Council upon the Hearing of the said Lords and other persons severally Interrogated, and upon their denying to have been present at any such Marriage, or to Know any thing of it or of any such Writing, That the Raising and Spreading of such a Report so incoherent in the several parts of it, was the Effect of deep Malice in some few, and of Loose and Idle discourse in others, Yet, We think it Requisite at this time, to make Our* Declarations *above recited more Publick; and to* Order *the Same (as We do hereby with the Advice of Our* Privy Council) *to be forthwith Printed and Published. And We do again upon this Occasion call Almighty God to Witness, and Declare upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a King, That there was never any Marriage, or Contract of Marriage had or made between Us and the said Mrs.* Walters *alias* Barlow, *the Duke of* Monmouth's *Mother, or between Us and any Woman whatsoever, Our Royal Consort Queen* Catherine, *that now is, Excepted.*

And We do hereby Strictly Require and Command all Our Subjects whatsoever, That they presume not to Utter or Publish any thing contrary to the Tenor of this Our Declaration, at their Peril, and upon pain of being proceeded against according to the Utmost Severity and Rigour of the Law.

Given at our Court at White-Hall *the Second day of* June, *in the Two and thirtieth Year of Our Reign.*

On

On the 15*th* of the ſame Month of *June*, Mr. Attorney General by his Majeſties Command, moved in the Court of *Chancery*, That theſe *Declarations* might be Enrolled and made a Record of that Court, for the preſervation of them; and in order thereunto, the Lords, and others of his Majeſties Privy Council, who were preſent when his Majeſty made and Signed thoſe *Declarations*, (and were Now in Court) being deſired to Atteſt the ſame: They did it upon their *Oaths*; as did likewiſe the Clerks of the Council; and then it was *Ordered*, That the ſaid Declarations ſhould be enrolled accordingly.

And when about this time his Majeſty had ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* to reſide for ſome time beyond the Seas, that he might not be made a Stale to theſe Mens ill deſigns, they wrought ſo much upon him, that he returned without his Majeſties Leave, and all his Places which were of great Value as well as Truſt, Power, and Honour, were taken from him.

In the Laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the 10*th* day of *January*, 1680. The *Commons* paſt theſe Votes.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That James *Duke of* Monmouth *hath been Removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of* York.

Ordered, That an humble Application be made to His Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof, as are of his Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privy Council, to deſire his Majeſty to Reſtore the ſaid James *Duke of* Monmouth *to his ſaid Offices and Commands.*

Now let it be Conſidered, That there was not the leaſt

leaſt regard had to the Duke of *Monmouth* or his Intereſt, till this day, in all that Seſſion of Parliament; and now when it was ſaid they ſhould be Prorogued, and all the reaſon in the world to believe that a Diſſolution would follow, the laſt day in probability they were to Sit, his Majeſty being alſo diſoblig'd by the *Votes* about the Revenue; ſo that it could not be Expected that almoſt any thing could be granted; and when they could not Hope to ſee any effect of it, they paſſed theſe two Votes. For what might be expected from it, let his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all the World Judge.

I have heard ſome men inſinuate, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was ſent into *Scotland*, (tho there was no need of him) that by that Defeat of the Diſſenters, he might be rendered odious to their Partiſans here in *England*, and ſo be turned out of all his Places, and No man Concern himſelf for him; he having, as they would inſinuate, no Friends in *England* but they.

To which I anſwer, That it ought to be Conſidered, that on the one Side his Majeſty, who is the Father of the Duke, appears, whom all the World (his worſt Enemies not Excepted) acknowledg to be a Prince of a Godlike Goodneſs and Clemency to his very Enemies; and on the other Side a Company of Men who have given large Demonſtrations that they are Enemies to Monarchy it ſelf; and therefore not likely to be over-kind to any of the Royal Family, but for ill Ends, and ſuch as the Duke hath no reaſon to promote, if he did perfectly Underſtand them.

Now let any man reflect upon this, and then pronounce as his Reaſon ſhall direct him, whether his Majeſty, or the Anti-Court Party were likelieſt to deſign

the Ruine of the Duke; that is, A Kind Father, or an Enraged and disobliged Enemy: To say here, as they commonly do, That his Majesty was imposed upon by Crafty men, contrary to his Natural Goodness, to Consent to the Ruine of his Son, is to Exalt his Goodness to the destruction of his Prudence, and represent him to the World as meerly passive, a Person easie to be deluded and abused; the contrary of which is most apparent by his Actions, tho it should be granted, that (as a Man) he hath some few times been deceived.

Amongst the Various Tricks and Projects that were then Set a foot, or Continued, there was none that pleased so well, as a Custom which was taken up since the Expiring of the Acts for the Regulating of Printing, *viz.* to Print Weekly Intelligences or News-Books. Concerning which his Majesty published this following Proclamation the 17*th* of *May*.

WHEREAS *it is of great Importance to the State, that all News Printed and Published to the People, as well concerning Foreign as Domestick Affairs, should be agreeable to Truth, or at least Warranted by Good Intelligence, that the Minds of his Majesties Subjects may not be disturbed or amuzed by Lies or vain Reports, which are many times raised on purpose to Scandalize the* Government, *or for other indirect Ends: And whereas of Late many Evil-disposed Persons have made it a Common practise to Print and Publish Pamphlets of News, without Licence or Authority, and therein have vended to his Majesties People, all the Idle and Malicious Reports that they could Collect or Invent, contrary to Law; the Continuance whereof would in a short time endanger the Peace of the Kingdom, the same manifestly tending thereto,*

thereto, as has been declared by all His Majeſties Judges Unanimouſly: His Majeſty therefore Conſidering the Great Miſchief that may enſue upon ſuch Licentious and Illegal practiſes, If not timely prevented, Hath Thought fit by his Royal Proclamation, (with the Advice of his Privy Council) ſtrictly to prohibit and forbid all perſons whatſoever to Print or Publiſh any News-Books, or Pamphlets of News not Licenſed by his Majeſties Authority. And to the Intent all Offenders may Know their Danger, and Deſiſt from any further proceedings of this Kind, His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed hereby to Declare, That they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Utmoſt Severity of the Law: And for that purpoſe His Majeſty doth hereby Will and Command all his Judges, Juſtices of Peace, and all other his Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice whatſoever, That they take Effectual Care that all ſuch as ſhall offend in the Premiſes, be proceeded againſt and puniſhed according to their demerits.

There was ſcarce any thing more Clamoured againſt than the Proceedings upon this Proclamation, as if all the Liberties of the Subject in *England* had Conſiſted in this, that they might be deluded and abuſed, terrified and affrighted, flattered and enticed, by whoſoever had the Impudence to Undertake it, and that Weekly.

Theſe Sorts of News-Mongers in the Interim are indeed nothing but a ſort of State Tale-bearers: Now to make the Miſchief more Apparent, to any man that is fond of this Sort of Traſh, let them but conſider what would follow in a private Family, if the Maſter of it ſhould permit this Sort of Vermin to Act at Liberty what Feuds, Heart-burnings, Fears, Diſtruſts and Mutual Hatreds would ariſe; ſo that no man could be able to maintain the Peace of his own houſe, if he might not

puniſh nor turn out ſuch perſons. Now the ſame Conſequences, onely much worſe, muſt needs follow in a City, Country, or Kingdom; for in a private Family the truth of things may be eaſily found out, the Parties being together; and yet 'tis a mighty trouble to peaceable people to be always contending and proving againſt others: but in the other inſtance it is impoſſible oftentimes for an innocent perſon to repreſent his Innocency, or diſprove his Accuſer. Now if it be true of the meaneſt private perſon, That A Good Name is to be valued as a man's Life, how much more reaſonable is it that the Eſtimation of Princes, and Great Men ſhould not ly at the Mercy of a company of Mean Scriblers? It is uſually ſaid, *Malice ſpeaks well of no body*; but to be ſure if that be tainted with ambition and faction, the very poyſon of Aſps will be ſhot out upon the Governors that oppoſe and hinder their wicked Intentions and Deſigns.

Nor is all this a Speculation, but an Experimented Truth, the ſame Sort of Men by the ſame ways, in the Memory of Vaſt Numbers of Men, once before Ruined this Kingdom, and brought his Majeſty's Father to the Block; as He Himſelf hath Elegantly deſcribed it in his *Eikon Baſilike*, *Cap.* 15. Part of which is as followeth.

IF I had not my own Innocency, and Gods Protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt theſe Stratagems and Conflicts of Malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth, and by Jealouſies *to ſupply the defect of Real* Cauſes, *which might ſeem to Juſtifie ſo Unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.*

And indeed the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſigns: For I can more willingly Looſe my Crowns then my Credit; Nor are my Kingdoms ſo dear to Me as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe

Those must have a Period with my Life, but these may Survive to a Glorious Kind of Immortality when I am dead and gone: A good Name being the Embalming of Princes, and a sweet Consecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude among Posterity.

Those Foul and False Aspersions were Secret Engines at first employed against My Peoples Love of Me: That Undermining their Opinion *and* Value *of Me, my Enemies, and theirs might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyalty.———*

If they had been my Open and Foraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to me.———

The Noise of my Evil-Counsellors was another useful Device. For those, who were impatient any mens Counsels but their own should be followed in Church or State; who were So Eager in giving Me better Counsel, that they would not give me Leave to take it with Freedom, as a Man; or Honour, as a King; making their Counsels more like a Drench that must be poured down, than a Draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not Justifie beyond humane Errours and Frailties my Self, or my Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more Reparable by Second and better thoughts than those enormious Extravagances, wherewith some men have Now even wildred, and almost quite Lost both Church and State.

The Event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, That had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or my Self any Inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in Three Flourishing Kingdoms to such a Chaos *of Confusions and Hell of Miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot or will not in*

the

the Midſt of their many great Advantages, redeem either Me or my Subjects.

I cannot ſuffer ſo much in Point of Honour, by thoſe Rude and Scandalous PAMPHLETS, *(which like fire in great Conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do; who pretending ſo much to Piety, are ſo forgetful of their Duty to God and Me: by no ways ever Vindicating the Majeſty of their King againſt any of thoſe who contrary to the Precept of God, and Precedent of Angels, ſpeak evil of Dignities, and bring Rayling Accuſations againſt thoſe, who are honoured with the Name of Gods: but 'tis no wonder if Men not fearing God, ſhould not honour their King.*

Thus far That Illuſtrious Saint and Martyr, who felt the Heat and ſuffered the Scorchings; firſt, of thoſe Tongues that are ſet on fire by Hell; and after of theſe Pamphlet-Flakes and Sparks which raiſed ſuch a Fire in His Three Kingdoms, as occaſioned his Ruine, and Murther; and the Baniſhing of his Wife and Children, and were likely enough to have ended in the total and everlaſting Ruine of the *Engliſh* Church and Nation.

And can any man believe it reaſonable that his Son our preſent Moſt Gracious Soveraign, ſhould ſit ſtill and Suffer Himſelf and his Miniſters, his Judges and his Officers both Civil and Military, to be repreſented to his People in the moſt Odious Manner that Malice can invent, and a Thouſand falſe ridiculous Lyes and Slanders to be vented againſt him and them! No ſurely, it can never be expected; and were not another Rebellion deſigned, it would never be deſired: Thus the Laſt began, and thus the Next muſt begin. We have the Teſtimony of His Majeſty's Father and our own Remembrance for the one; and we are Senſible how far things

are

are Advanced of late that way, for a proof of the other. And if theſe hot-headed Religious Lyers think it reaſonable that for fear of the Unjuſt reproach of Aſſerting Arbitrary Government, the hazard ſhould be run of having no Government, I hope they will find themſelves deceived, and I am ſure his Majeſty hath not one Loyal Subject in all his Three Kingdoms that is not of this mind.

My Lord *Coke* in the *Pleas of the Crown* tells us, That the Law before the Conqueſt was, That the Author and Spreader of Falſe Rumours amongſt the People had his Tongue cut out, if he redeemed it not by the Eſtimation of his Head: And ſurely the Printing of ſuch is not a leſs but a greater Crime, and deſerves a greater puniſhment. Cap. 93. *Inſt. leg. Aluered.* Cap. 28.

And in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, one *Stubbs* had his Right hand Cut off for writing a Libel againſt the Queen, as *Camden* tells us; which *Stubbs* was Brother in Law to *Carthwright* the famous *Puritan* Preacher in theſe days. *Anno* 1581.

By a *Statute* made the 3 *Ed.* 1. *Cap.* 33. it was Enacted, *That from thenceforth none ſhould be ſo hardy to Tell or Publiſh any Falſe Newes or Tales, whereby Diſcord or Slander may Grow between the King and his People, or the Great Men of the Realm; And he that doth ſo, ſhall be taken and kept in Priſon until he hath brought him into the Court which was firſt Author of the Tale.* Which is confirmed, 2 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 5. And again, 12 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 11. with this addition, *That if the Offender could not find his Author, He ſhould be puniſhed by the Advice of the Council.* Both which *Statutes* are ſtill in force: tho thoſe of the 1 & 2 *P. M. Cap.* 13. & 1 *Eliz.* 6. upon which *Stubbs* was puniſhed, are Expired. So that here is no Need of Arbitrary proceeding to puniſh ſuch Diſ-

orders,

orders, when a due Execution of these Old *Statutes* might do the business.

The 22. of *June*, 1680. The Rebel *Scots* endeavouring to renew their Rebellion, 21 persons Assembled, and after a Solemn Procession and Singing of *Psalms*, Published and affixed on the Cross at *Sanchar* a Paper, wherein they declare for themselves, *And all that will Adhere to them as the Representatives of the true* Presbyterian *Church and Covenanted Nation of* Scotland, *they do disown* Charles Stuart *who has been Raigning, or rather Tyrannizing on the Throne of* Brittain *these Years past, as having any Right or Title to, or Interest in the Crown of* Scotland *or Government, as Forfeited several Years since by his Perjury and Breach of Covenant with God and his Church, and Usurpation of his Crown and Royal Prerogatives therein, &c.* So they proceeded to Excommunicate and Depose his Majesty, and 70 Persons took up Arms against him, the chief of which were *Donald Cargile*, and one *Hall*, who were Actually in the Last Rebellion.

These men swore either to other, *That if any person who should joyn with them, should afterwards submit to the King upon any account whatsoever, or own him for their King, the rest should Butcher the Party so submitting.* So that several of them being taken, and upon Tryal found Guilty of this Horrid and Divilliſh Conspiracy, chose rather to Suffer as Traytors, than to own their King, or ask a Pardon from him, as fearing a worser Death from their fellow Conspirators, than the Law would inflict upon them.

Now I would desire my Country-men to Consider Seriously, whether the Popish Tenents are worse than these *Presbyterian* Doctrines; and whether his Majesty

is

is not as much in danger to fall by the hands of one of these reformed Assassinates, as by a Consecrated Jesuite.

On *Thursday* the 21. of *October*, 1680. The long Expected and impatiently Desired Parliament met at *Westminster*; And I will now attend it, to see whether it were such as answered the hopes of these Petitioners, who had boasted of it as a Master-Piece, and which was to Confound all they were pleased to Call Popery. Which Parliament his Majesty began with this Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE several Prorogations I have made, have been very advantagious to Our Neighbours, and Very Useful to Me; for I have imployed that time in making and perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of Spain, *suitable to that which I had before with the* States of the United Provinces, *and they also had with* Spain, *Consisting of Mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence.*

I have all the Reason in the World to believe, that what was so much desired by former Parliaments, must needs be very grateful to you now: for tho some perhaps may wish these Measures had been taken sooner, yet no man can with reason think it is now too Late; for they who desire to make these Alliances, and they who desire to break them, shew themselves of another Opinion.

And as these are the best Measures that could be taken for the Safety of England *and Repose of Christendom, So they cannot fail to attain their End, and to spread and improve themselves further, if Our Divisions at home do not render Our Friendship less Considerable abroad.*

To prevent these as much as may be, I think fit to renew to you all the Assurances which can be desired, That nothing

ſhall be wanting on My part to give you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts can wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which I am fully reſolved to maintain againſt all the Conſpiracies of Our Enemies, and to Concur with You in any new Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, that may Conſiſt with the preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

And in Order to this, I do recommend to You, to purſue the further Examination of the Plot, *with a ſtrict and impartial Enquiry. I do not think My Self Safe nor You neither, till that Matter be gone thro with; and therefore it will be neceſſary that the Lords in the* Tower *be brought to their ſpeedy Tryal that Juſtice may be done.*

I need not tell you what danger the City of Tangier *is in, nor of what Importance it is to Us to preſerve it. I have with a mighty Charge and Expence ſent a very Conſiderable Relief thither; but Conſtantly to maintain ſo great a Force as that War will require, and to make thoſe New Works and Fortifications, without which the Place will not be long Teneable, amounts to ſo Vaſt a Sum, that without Your Support it will be impoſſible for me to undergo it. Therefore I lay the matter plainly before You, and deſire Your Advice and Aſſiſtance.*

But that which I Value above all the Treaſure in the World, and which I am Sure will give Me greater Strength and Reputation both at home and abroad then any Treaſure can do, is a perfect UNION amongſt Our Selves.

Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that Strength and Vigor which it ſeems to have Loſt, and raiſe Us again to that Conſideration which England *hath Uſually had.*

All Europe *have their Eyes upon this Aſſembly, and think their own Happineſs or Miſery as well as Our's will depend upon it.*

If

If We ſhould be So Unhappy as to fall into ſuch Miſ-Underſtanding among Our Selves, as ſhould render Our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will not be Wondred at, if Our Allies ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be Fatal to Us.

Let Us therefore take Care that We do not Gratifie Our Enemies, and Diſhearten Our Friends by any Unſeaſonable Diſputes.

If any ſuch do happen, the World will ſee it is no fault of Mine; for I have done all that was poſſible for Me to do, to Keep You in Peace while I live, and to Leave You So when I die.

But from ſo great Prudence and ſo good Affections as Yours, I can fear Nothing of this Kind; but to Rely upon You all, That You will uſe Your beſt Endeavours to bring this Parliament to a Good and Happy Concluſion.

The Lord Chancellor made no Speech at all, His Majeſty giving himſelf the whole Trouble of this Affair, hoping his Words would the more be Conſidered by them, and the buſineſs the more zealouſly purſued.

The Houſe of Commons being returned, and a Motion made, That *William Williams* Eſq; ſhould be choſen *Speaker*; It was Reſolved in the Affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente*; who forthwith made two Speeches in the Houſe, which are Printed in the *Votes*, one to Excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his inſufficiency, by reaſon of the difficulty both of the Place, and Things to be tranſacted. But that being refuſed, he made a Second, which ſhew'd more the temper of the Man; and is as followeth.

Gentlemen,

I Tremble when I reflect under what difficulties Learned, Experienced, and Wise Men have Laboured in this Chair: Yet I am not afraid of their President who impaired their Estates and Health, no nor of them who lost their Lives in this Service. These are a Sacrifice I owe my Country. But when I suffer my self to think that some Gentlemen have Maimed their Reputation in this Trust, these Thoughts are dreadful to me, and must yet strike deeper with me, unless you that called me hither shall please to Stand by me, Cherish and Support me in all the difficulties of this Place. I have it by your Courtesie, and shall hold it at your Pleasure; and I have this to Secure me, If I fall, I fall into the Hands of Gentlemen that made me what I am in Your Service.

I doubt not but you will remember, your own Minister, your own ONELY, *your own* INTIRELY, *placed in this Service without Seeking, without Recommending: I expect No Boon, but your Grace and Favour to depart as I came, when you shall please to Command me, without repenting.*

Some have said these Speeches were never made in the House, but added afterwards to the *Votes*; tho it's possible they might be designed: but that is nothing to the purpose. In my poor Judgment this last Speech is lyable to many great Exceptions, and for which he would certainly have been eased of this Laborious and Dangerous Imployment under any Prince but the Mildest of Men with whom he had now to do.

First he might have treated his Predecessors in that Chair with more respect, than to take notice of them that

that had Maimed their Reputation; which as they were not many, ſo that thought might with more Humility and Candour have been kept to himſelf; and the rather, becauſe one preſent had had the Misfortune to be repreſented diſadvantagiouſly in the latter end of the former Parliament; and this looked more like an inſulting Bravado, than a Modeſt Excuſe. It had been good he had taken the Lord *Verulam*'s Counſel, *Eſſay* the 11. *Uſe the Memory of thy Predeceſſor Fairly, and Tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a Debt, will Surely be paid, when thou art Gone.*

In the Second Paragraph he flies higher, and is not content to tell them that he is their *Miniſter*, without he added, *Onely*, and *Intirely*. Now another man would have left out theſe words, or have added ſomething to them, to declare his Loyal Intention to his Prince too, whoſe Miniſter the *Speaker* is more properly than the Houſes, whoſe Place he holds there, and from whom he hath his Authority, tho he hath his Nomination from the Commons; nor is he a *Speaker* at all till the King hath approved of their Choyce.

His Majeſty to avoid any Conteſt about a *Speaker*, had it ſeems not Recommended any Perſon to them, as is uſual; and he takes Notice of that too, but in ſuch a manner, as looks more like a Triumph over his Majeſty, than any thing elſe, as having gained that point upon him by the laſt Conteſt, when he tells them he was placed in that Service *without Seeking, without Recommending*: And in the Next place he tells them, *He Expects no other Boon, but by their Grace and Favour to depart as he came, without repenting.* He may poſſibly prove a Prophet, and as he ſeems to ſcorn his Prince's Favour, ſo he may ever want an opportunity of Refuſing it.

On

On *Friday* the Houſe of Commons attended his Majeſty with their *Speaker*, where he that hath entred two Speeches to the Commons, is not pleaſed to Enter that which was made to his Majeſty, but onely tells us that he made claim by Humble Petition in the Name of the Commons of *England* in *Parliament Aſſembled, of the Antient Rights of the Commons for them and their Servants in their Perſons and Eſtates, to be free from Arreſts and other diſturbances; in all their Debates to have Freedom and Liberty of ſpeech; and as occaſion ſhould require, to have Acceſs to his Majeſties Perſon.* Which was allowed by the King.

But tho he hath not been pleaſed to Print his own Speech, there was one given out for the Information of the People in Writing, which was as followeth.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Houſe of Commons have been pleaſed to Make uſe of ME for their Speaker, *and Have preſented me for Your Majeſties Approbation. It is a Place of great Weight and Pains: Both by my Education and Profeſſion I have been always uſed to Labour and Induſtry,* Therefore *I will (by Your Majeſties Approbation) endeavour to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in me.*

If this were the Preface to the Three Demands or Petitions, I cannot blame him for not Printing it, no more then I can commend him for making one ſo totally different from what uſed to be ſaid on ſuch occaſions.

But a man may ſmile to ſee how finely the man had digeſted and put over all his trembling fears in one Nights time, when he called to mind his Education and Profeſſion, which he had totally forgot the day before, and

and now having conſidered better, did not think it was fit to ask his Majeſty to diſcharge a perſon ſo wonderfully qualified for the Place, as all other had done before him, being, it ſeems, not ſo ſenſible that by their Education and Profeſſion they had been uſed to Labour and Induſtry.

And 'tis pretty to ſee how his Majeſties Approbation is put into a parentheſis; as if one ſhould ſay it was Needleſs, and ſcarce worth the asking, and the Sence of what he was to ſpeak would have been perfect without it.

But ſuch was his Majeſty's Goodneſs, that he eaſily paſſed over theſe things, tho they were apparent encroachments upon his Royal Prerogative, and ſuch too as another Prince would have ſtomached. He ſought the good of his People mōre than any thing, and for that cauſe bore theſe diſorders.

On *Munday* the 25. of *October* the Lords ſent down an *Addreſs* they had made to his Majeſty for the Pardon of all ſuch perſons as ſhould come in and diſcover any thing further of the *Plot* within two Months; and with it his Majeſties Anſwer, which was as followeth.

HIS *Majeſty hath Conſidered of the* Addreſs *made by the Houſe, and is ſo willing to Encourage all perſons who know of any Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon and Government, that he will cauſe his Royal Proclamation to Iſſue, declaring, That he will fully Pardon and Secure all perſons who ſhall make ſuch diſcovery, not Onely during the ſpace of Two Months as is deſired, but at any time after, whenſoever ſuch diſcovery ſhall be made.*

The

The next day the Commons reſolved to make an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty to the ſame purpoſe.

And Mr. *Dangerfield* the diſcoverer and great Agent in the *Meal-Tub Plott*, which was a Silly deſign of the Papiſts to turn their Plott upon the *Presbyterians*, mentioning Sir *Robert Peyton*, a Member of their Houſe, in this Information.

They referred it to a Committee to Examine theMaters touching Sir *Robert Peiton*, and to report the ſame to the Houſe: And then Reſolved *Nemine Contradicente*,

That it was the Opinion of their Houſe to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs Popery, and *Prevent a Popiſh Succeſſor.*

On *Wedneſday* the 27*th* of *October*, they agreed the ſaid *Addreſs*, which was as followeth.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, being highly Zealous for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, Your Majeſties Sacred Perſon and Government, and reſolving to purſue with a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry the Execrable Popiſh Plot which was detected in the Two Laſt Parliaments, and has been Supported and Carried on by potent and reſtleſs Practiſes and Machinations, eſpecially during the late Receſſes of Parliaments, whereby ſeveral perſons have been terrified and diſcouraged from declaring their Knowledg thereof; moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That for the Security of ſuch perſons who ſhall be willing to give Evidence, or make further Satisfactory Diſcovery concerning the ſame to this Houſe, Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to Iſſue Your Royal Proclamation, aſſuring all the ſaid perſons, of your Gracious

cious Pardon, if they ſhall give Evidence, or make ſuch Diſcovery within two Months after the date of ſuch Proclamation.

There was two Exceptions taken to this Addreſs by others, Tho I find none made in the Houſe, *viz.*

The firſt was, That in the height of their Zeal they forgot to tell his Majeſty what Proteſtant Religion they meant or deſired to preſerve, for there being in *England* many not onely ſeveral but contrary Religions, which yet may be Comprehended under that General term of *Proteſtant*. Some of which are worſe than Popery, they were not to be preſerved but Suppreſſed, if it might be; Except they intended in oppoſition to Popery to uphold all the Hereſies and Schiſmes that aroſe in the late Rebellion amounting to near Eightſcore, as they have been counted; but then it had been better to have called them *Proteſtant Religions*: for it is a perfect piece of Nonſence to call theſe Contrary and Contending Factions, who do mutually endeavour to Ruine each other, tho they are now Combined as much againſt the Religion that is Eſtabliſhed, as againſt Popery, and to Act againſt it with more fury than they do againſt Popery; I ſay it is Nonſence to call theſe Conjoyntly Religion, when if there be or ever were any ſuch things as different Religions in the World, theſe are ſuch, and they are as Contrary to the Religion eſtabliſhed, and each to other as they are to Popery.

Hitherto the Parliaments had always qualified that looſe general word, with ſuch terms as theſe, *Eſtabliſhed*, or by *Law Eſtabliſhed*, or the like; and ſometimes not ſo much as mentioned the Word *Proteſtant*, which is very improperly affixed to any Party of the Reformed

Religions of *England*, there being perhaps never a *Lutheran* in *England*, to take it ſtrictly.

But we ſhall ſee afterwards that it was not a Caſual or Accidental omiſſion here, but as theſe Proteſtants at Large had advanced the greater part of theſe Commons into that high dignity, ſo they were reſolved, to liſt them up above the Church and Laws by way of Reward, tho the Peace of the Nation and the Government were Ruined by it.

The Second thing objected was, That they Tacitly and Injuriouſly reflected upon His Majeſty in their Pretences, That during the Receſs of Parliament, ſeveral perſons had been terrified and diſcouraged from declaring their Knowledg of the Plot. As for the *Receſſes*, *Prorogations* and *Diſſolutions* of the Parliaments, they were apparently forced upon the King much againſt his Will by the unreaſonable Heats, Feuds, and Irregularities of the Commons, and ſo the King was not to be blamed; and all that would Inform any thing concerning the *Plott* in theſe Intervals had been as Kindly uſed by the King and Councel, as they could have been by the Parliament. So that this was, as I ſaid, an Injurious Reflection upon His Majeſty and the Government, and was an Argument of an ill temper, and could not but diſguſt his Majeſty.

Their limiting their Petition of Pardon to onely ſuch perſons as made any Diſcovery to their Houſe, was look't upon as much reſtrain'd; for if the Diſcovery were really and effectually made, what matter was it to what houſe or perſon it was made. But it may be this might not be intended by them for any ſuch purpoſe as the limiting of the thing to them, tho in effect it did ſo, and therefore I ſhall paſs it over.

From

From this *Addreſs* the Houſe proceeded to the *Votes* about the Petitions; which were as followeth.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente. Which ſhewes the Strength of the party, and not the Conſent of the whole Houſe.

That it is, and Ever hath been, the Undoubted Right of the Subjects of England, *to Petition the King for the Calling and Sitting of Parliaments, and Redreſſing of Grievances.*

Reſolved, N. C.

That to traduce ſuch Petitioning (howſoever managed, for ſo it muſt ſignifie, or elſe it will conclude nothing from the Other as a Principle) *as a Violation of Duty, and to repreſent it to his Majeſty as Tumultuous and Seditious, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and Contributes to the Deſign of Subverting the Antient Legal Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, and introducing* Arbitrary Power.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to inquire of all ſuch perſons as have offended againſt theſe Rights of the Subjects:

Reſolved,

That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, declaring the Reſolution of this Houſe to Preſerve and Support the King's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion at home and abroad.

This laſt ſeemed to ſweeten the Crudity of the former *Votes*, and to Countenance and Juſtifie one of the greateſt diſorders that Contributed to the Ruine of his Father.

As to their firſt *Vote*, which is their Principle, it is

granted *modo & forma* as they have ſet it down.

But the Second is too general, and an Undeniable foundation for Rebellion, as hath been Experimented: for all the Controverſie was here about the manner of Petitioning, *viz.* Whether a few private men might agree upon a Petition, and then ſend Emiſſaries abroad to procure Hundreds and Thouſands of Ignorant people to Subſcribe it, and then tender it to his Majeſty, as it were by the Number to fright him into a Complyance with them againſt his declared Reſolution to the Contrary: if this might be allowed, the Liberty of the Subject would ſoon eat up the Prerogative of the King, and diſorder this or any other Government in the World.

Lord Bacon's Hiſt. of H. 7.

In the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, one *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer, thought he could make a Rebellion and never break the Peace; and the People of *Cornwall* being diſcontented about ſome Subſidies granted to the King, he perſwades them that it was not good they ſhould ſtand like Sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harneſs and take *Weapons* in their hands: yet to do no Creature hurt, but go and deliver the King a *Strong Petition*, for the Laying down of thoſe grievous *Payments*, and for the Puniſhment of thoſe that had given him that Counſel, and to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And he ſaid for his part, *He did not ſee how they could do the Duty of true Engliſh-men and good Liege-men, except they did deliver the King from ſuch Wicked ones, that would deſtroy both him and the Country*; or in the Language of our dayes, *introduce Arbitrary Power.*

And accordingly 16000 men armed, aſſembled, and marched from *Cornwal* to *Black-Heath* in *Kent* Modeſtly and Quietly enough, Except that at *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*

merſetſhire they killed, in fury, an Officious and Eager Commiſſioner for the Subſidy, whom they called the Provoſt of *Perin*: but by that time they came at *Black-Heath*, they Threatned either to bid Battle to the King (for now the Seas went higher than his Councellors) or to take *London* within his View; imagining themſelves, there to find no leſs fear than wealth. And accordingly they perſiſted, till the King having drawn out his Forces and Surrounded them, he fought them, and killed 20000, and took all the reſt Priſoners.

Now I would Know whether this *Strong Petition* was Juſtifiable, and whether if any body in our dayes ſhould perſwade a Number of Men to Act this over again, it would be an offence againſt the Rights of the Subjects, to abhor ſuch Petitioning as a Violation of Duty, and repreſent it to his Majeſty as Tumultuous and Seditious, or rather plainly Rebellious; and it would be worth the while to try whether *Flammock's Strong Petition* may not be Juſtified by theſe *Votes*, as they now ſtand penned: for it doth not appear that any ſort of Petitioning whatſoever, may be oppoſed by the *Votes*.

But it may be replyed, That here were no men in Arms in the caſe of the Petition in hand; but what then, if there ſhould be for the future, theſe *Votes* will Juſtify them too; for if the People may Petition for the Calling or Sitting of a Parliament, or Redreſſing of Grievances, when and howſoever they pleaſe, and no man may hinder them, then is Honeſt Old Father *Flammock's Strong Petition*, which was for the Redreſs of two Notable Grievances, fairly Juſtifiable, if it were now to be acted over again: But if the People be allowed to Petition, but not any way, it had been fit to have told us, and them, what manner

manner of way they were allowed to Petition, as well as for what; for that was the main thing in queſtion.

But ſeeing they were not ſo kind to the People, I will try if I cannot direct them into a better courſe the next time they ſhall have an Occaſion to Petition the King for the *Calling* and *Sitting* of *Parliaments*, and *Redreſsing of Grievances*. And to that purpoſe I will here inſert a whole *Act* of *Parliament*.

XIII *Car.* 2. *Cap.* V.

An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, upon pretence of Preparing or Preſenting Publick Petitions, or Addreſſes to His Majeſty or the Parliament.

WHEREAS it hath been found by Sad Experience, That Tumultuous and other Diſorderly Soliciting, and Procuring of Hands by private perſons, to Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declarations, and Other Addreſſes to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament; 1. For Alteration of Matters Eſtabliſhed by Law. 2. Redreſs of pretended Grievances in Church or State: 3. Or other Publick Concerments, have been made uſe of, to ſerve the ends of Factious and Seditious perſons gotten into power, to the Violation of the Publick Peace, and have been a great means of the late Unhappy Wars, Confuſions

Confuſions and Calamities in this Nation. For preventing the like Miſchiefs for the future.

Be it Enacted by the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Conſent of the Lords & Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That no perſon or perſons whatſoever, ſhall from and after the Firſt of Auguſt *One thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and one, ſollicite, labour or procure the getting of Hands, or other Conſent of any perſons above the number of Twenty or more, to* Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, *any* Declaration *or other* Addreſs *to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for alteration of Matters Eſtabliſhed by Law, in Church or State, Unleſs the Matter thereof have been firſt Conſented unto, and Grdered by Three or more Juſtices of the County, or by the Major part of the Grand Jury of the County, or Diviſion of the County, where the ſame matter ſhall ariſe, at their Publick Aſſizes, or General Quarter-Seſſions; or if ariſing in* London, *by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Councel aſſembled; And that no perſon or perſons whatſoever ſhall repair to his Majeſty, or both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, upon pretence of preſenting, or delivering any* Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance *or* Declaration, *or other* Addreſſes, *accompanied with Exceſsive Numbers of People, not at any one time above the number of Ten perſons,* * *upon*

* *Nor.*

upon pain of Incurring a penalty not exceeding the Sum of One hundred pounds in Money, and Three Moneths Impriſonment without Bail or Mainpriſe for every offence, to be proſecuted at the Court of Kings-Bench, *or at the* Aſſizes *or* General Quarter-Seſſions, *within Six Months after the Offence committed, and proved by two or more Credible Witneſſes.*

Provided always, *That this* Act *or any thing therein contained, ſhall not be Conſtrued to Extend to debar or hinder any perſon or perſons, not exceeding the Number of Ten aforeſaid, to repreſent any publick or private* Grievance *or* Complaint *to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the Kings Majeſty, for any Remedy thereupon to be had, or to Extend to any* Addreſs *whatſoever to his Majeſty by all or any of the Members of both or either Houſes of Parliament during the Sitting of the Parliament, but that they may enjoy their Freedom of Acceſs to his Majeſty as heretofore hath been uſed.*

Now had this Act of Parliament been purſued, I believe there would have been no Controverſie in this caſe; and there was great reaſon it ſhould, * By reaſon of the Unquietneſs of the Times, when every thing ſeemed to tend to the renewing of thoſe Calamities the Act mentions in the *Preface*, and was made to prevent.

* *Becauſe.*

But ſuppoſing it had been never ſo Regular, what reaſon

reaſon can be aſſigned why one part of the People ſhould be freer to Petition for any thing, than the other was againſt it, if one party may for the inſtance Petition the King to change his Mind after he hath declared it in any cauſe, why is not the other part as free to deſire him not to change? now that which may ſeem a publick *Grievance* to one County or Place, may be a great Advantage to another, and they are totally debarred of all means of Maintaining their preſent advantage, if they may not Counter-Petition.

But in this caſe here the perſons that Petitioned were private men, and contrary to the expreſs Letter of this Act, ſolicited hands in an irregular way; and ſuch ſort of hands, as beſides their Number, were of No Conſideration; for the directions that they ſent with the Petitions, were, That it mattered not whether they were Gentlemen, or ſo much as Free-holders, ſo they were Numerous. Now let any man conſider whether it be reaſonable that a company of Rude Country Clowns, and a parcel of Pragmatical Apron-men, ſhould contrary to his Majeſty's Proclamation pretend themſelves wiſe enough to Adviſe his Majeſty when the Parliament ſhould Sit. But if it be alledged, That there were others beſides theſe: why were not theſe totally left out? why was there ſuch care that the Subſcriptions ſhould be ſo Numerous? did theſe ſmall Folk add any weight to the Adviſe? No ſurely.

On the other Hand, they that appeared againſt them were Parliament-men themſelves, Juſtices of the Peace, Grand Juries at Aſſizes and Seſſions, Common-Councels and Magiſtrates in Corporations, men full as likely to Underſtand what was fit to be done, and as Unlikely

to betray the true Liberties of the People on the one hand, or to invade the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown on the other; but then theſe were men true to the Religion and Government by Law eſtabliſhed; and the Petitioners were of the ſame ſort, for the moſt part, with them that had brought on the former Calamities by this and other ſuch ſpecious and popular pretences, to the ruine both of King and People, Prerogative and Liberty: and therefore the more juſtly ſuſpected to be playing over the Old Game.

Thus much may ſuffice concerning the *Votes*; And now let us ſee how they proceeded againſt the pretended Offenders. And in the firſt place Sir *Francis Withens*, a Member of their Houſe, being accuſed on this Account as an offender againſt the Rights of the Subject, who was not then preſent, It was

Ordered,

That Notice ſhould be given him to attend in his place the next Morning.

On *Thurſday October* 28.

Sir *F. Withins* appearing in his place, It was ordered that the Clerk of the Peace for *Weſtminſter* ſhould attend the Houſe the next Morning at Ten of the Clock with the Roll of the Orders for the Laſt *Eaſter* Seſſions for the City of *Weſtminſter*.

Then they fell upon an Information which had been given the Houſe againſt Sir *Robert Yeomans* of *Briſtol*, and Sir *Robert Cann*, a Member of the Houſe, That they did in *October* 1679, Publickly declare, *That there was no Popiſh Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*.

Which was atteſted againſt them by Mr. *Row*, Sword-Bearer of *Briſtol*, and Sir *John Knight* a Member of the Houſe.

Houſe. Sir *Robert Cann* being to make his defence, Uttered ſeveral Reproachful and Reflecting words againſt Sir *John Knight*, for which he was called to the Bar, and received a Reprehenſion on his Knees, and then being ordered to withdraw, they Voted he ſhould be committed to the * *Tower*, and Expelled the Houſe; and that Sir *Robert Yeomans* ſhould be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant attending their Houſe.

* Where he lay till the 8*th* of *Novemb.* & then was diſcharged.

This weighty affair took up the whole day, and it had been well ſpent, if the Popiſh Plot had been made one jot the plainer, or the Presbyterian Plot ever ſo little taken off by it; but the World was full as well ſatified of the truth of the former before, notwithſtanding what theſe Gentlemen had ſaid to the Contrary; and much confirmed in the truth of the latter, by this Violent, if not Arbitrary way of proceeding againſt them.

For if theſe Gentlemen had offended againſt any Law, why were they not proſecuted in a Legal way, where they might have made a Legal defence, and have received a Legal Sentence? But here they had nothing but bare affirmations, without any witneſs to defend them; and a Sentence founded upon this as ſharp, chargeable, and diſhonourable as was poſſible. If this be the Liberty of the Subject, and theſe men our defenders from Arbitrary Government——

On *Friday October* 29. Sir *George Downing* having obtained Leave to bring in a Bill for wearing of the Woollen Manufacture of *England*; The Houſe Ordered that Dr. *Tongue* ſhould be recommended to his Majeſty for the firſt Conſiderable Church-Preferment that ſhould happen to become void in the Kingdom. And then the *Speaker* Reported his Majeſty's Anſwer to the *Addreſs*

concerning Pardons, which is recited above; which Anſwer was,

THat he did intend to direct ſuch a Proclamation, and was reſolved not onely to proſecute the Plot, but Popery alſo, and to take Care of the Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by Law; *and if We joyn, and the Lower Houſe go on* Calmly *in their Debates, without heats, He did not doubt but to beat down Popery and all that belongs to it.*

This Anſwer will ſtand upon Record againſt them, and Poſterity will certainly give them their due for Neglecting this Mild Admonition of this Meek Prince. But to go on, Mr. *Harbord* Reported the *Addreſs* for *the Support of the King's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion both at Home and Abroad.* Which was as followeth.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Obedient Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, Do with moſt Thankful Hearts Acknowledg, not Onely Your Majeſties many former Royal Declarations of Your Adherence *to the* * Proteſtant Religion, *in the Preſervation and Protection thereof, but Your further Manifeſtation of the ſame in Your Gracious Speech to both Houſes at the Opening of this preſent Parliament, in which Your Majeſty is pleaſed to Command us ſtrictly and impartially to proſecute the Horrid Popiſh Plot, without which we do fully aſſent to Your Majeſties great Judgment, That neither Your Perſon nor Government can be Safe, nor your Proteſtant Subjects, It being part of the very Religion of Popery, where it can obtain, to Extirpate all Proteſtants both Prince and People; which hath cauſed in the Times of Your Royal Anceſtors ſince the Reformation,*

* What *Proteſtant Religion*? why are not the words *by Law Eſtabliſhed*, here, as well as in his Majeſties Anſwer above?

ſormation, that great Care to oblige the Subjects againſt their return to the Papal Yoke, in the very ſame Oathes wherein they Swear Allegiance to their Prince. And as Now the Eyes of all the Proteſtant Kingdoms and States abroad are upon us, and looking upon Your Majeſty as the Royal Head of ſo many Proteſtant Countries, cannot but hope, upon a Happy and Solid Security in our Religion at Home, That your Majeſty will be the greateſt Protection to them, from whom we may expect a Mutual Aſſiſtance, as being involved in the ſame Common Danger: So we do humbly aſſure your Majeſty, That we ſhall be always ready to preſerve your Majeſties Perſon and Government, and to Support the * *Proteſtant Religion both at home and abroad: And do Humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to Eſteem all perſons whatſoever who ſhall otherwiſe repreſent Us to your Majeſty, as thoſe who deſign to divide between the King and his People, and to defeat the Meeting and Sitting of Parliaments, That thoſe Popiſh Deſigns may ſucceed, which they well know cannot otherwiſe proſper. And this they have made Undeniably Evident in the Interval of Parliaments, by Contriving, with unparallel'd Inſolence, a moſt Damnable and Wicked Deſign to transfer their own Crimes upon ſo many of your Majeſties Loyal Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, hoping thereby to deſtroy thoſe who with the greateſt Zeal and* Integrity *endeavour to proſecute them.*

* What that by Law Eſtabliſhed, or another As contrary to it as Popery is?

The Effect of this Specious *Addreſs* to poſſeſs the People, what Stout Champions the *Presbyterians* are againſt Popery, and to Involve all them that had appeared againſt them, as Papiſts or Favourers of Papiſts, and to let the World know what a horrid opinion they had of that Silly-impoſſible-Meal-Tub-Sham Plot: And Certainly the Popiſh Party were much to blame to Lay

their

their Treaſons to the *Presbyterians*, who have too many of their own to anſwer for without this Accumulation of guilt from others Crimes. But as to their boaſt of their *Great Zeal* and *Integrity* in endeavouring to proſecute the *Popiſh Plot*, we ſhall be better able to judge of it in the Concluſion of this Seſsion of Parliament.

Then the Houſe Proceeded to Examine Sir *Francis Wythens* buſineſs, and it appearing by Witneſs and his own Confeſſion, that he had preſented an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, expreſſing an Abhorrency to Petition his Majeſty for the Calling and Sitting of Parliaments, they Voted him a Betrayer of the Undoubted Rights of the Subjects of *England*; and ordered him to be Expelled the Houſe for this High Crime, and to receive his Sentence at the Bar upon his Knees. Which he ſubmitted to.

Obſerve how they miſrepreſent this Gentleman, the *Addreſs* he preſented was drawn by the Bench at *Eaſter* Seſſions for *Weſtminſter*, and related onely to that Petition, and that Parliament, in thoſe Circumſtances; now as they word the buſineſs, it muſt ſignify that the *Addreſs* was againſt *All Sorts of Petitions*, for the Sitting of Parliaments, in the plural Number; which is foul play to miſrepreſent the Matter of fact in a thing ſo lately done and well Known to every body in the very place where they Sit: but it was neceſſary it ſhould be ſo worded, to Juſtify the Severity of the Houſe, if that would have done.

This was the Second Member of Parliament they Expelled in a way that was look't on as Arbitrary, and unexampled; and this was the uſe they made of His Majeſties Advice to proceed *Calmly*, and without *Heats.*

On

On *Saturday* the 30*th* of *October*, They paſſed a *Vote*,

That the *Votes* of their Houſe ſhould be Printed, *being firſt Peruſed and Signed by Mr. Speaker*, who was to Nominate and Appoint the perſons to Print the ſame.

From theſe Printed *Votes* I have Extracted what hath gone before and ſhall follow after; and to them I appeal for the truth of this Narrative of their Proceedings: and but for this *Vote* it might have been difficult to have known what they had done, ſo as to have charged them: By them alſo I have been encouraged to ſpeak my Mind more freely of this, than of the former Parliaments; for this Printing their *Votes* could be deſigned for Nothing but to enable the People to paſs a Judgment on their Actions; one of which Number I am.

Their next *Vote* was, *That they would proceed to the full Examination of the* Popiſh Plot, *in order to bring the Offenders to Juſtice.*

And then they Nominated a Committee to Inſpect the Journals of the Two laſt Parliaments; and Report their proceedings relating to the Popiſh Plot; and *Ordered*

An *Addreſs* to his Majeſty for the Letters, Papers and Evidences which have been delivered to the Privy Council relating to the ſaid Plot.

This Afternoon they Waited upon his Majeſty with their *Addreſs for the Preſervation of his Perſon and Government*,&c.

On *Munday* the Firſt day of *November*, Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* told the Houſe, the Papers they had Addreſſed for, had been ſent to the Committee of the Houſe of Lords for Examination of the *Plot*, the 24*th* of *October*.

The

The Bill for wearing of Woollen, was alſo read and committed.

Then the *Speaker* Reported the King's Anſwer to their Addreſs for *Preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion*; which was as followeth.

I Thank you very heartily for your Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion: and I aſſure you there ſhall be nothing wanting on my part at Home or Abroad to preſerve it.

Sir *Francis Winnington* Chairman of the Committee for Inſpecting the Journals of the Two laſt Parliaments concerning the Proceedings relating to the Popiſh Plot, reported a general abſtract of the ſame; which was Ordered to be perfected, and that they ſhould inſpect thoſe of the Houſe of Lords for the ſame time.

Then one *Hardwich* a Linnen-Draper, being accuſed of ſome Miſdemeanors againſt one Seignior *Franciſco*, a Witneſs in the Popiſh Plot, was Ordered to be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant Attending their Houſe to anſwer the ſame. This was to puniſh a man before they knew whether he were guilty or no, upon a bare Suggeſtion.

On *Tueſday* the 2^d. of *November*, A Bill for prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel, was read and committed.

And then one *Harnage* was ordered to be brought to the Bar for abuſing *Franciſco Ferria*.

And then they Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty for a pardon for *Dangerfield*, and that he would take him and Mr. *Dugdale*, Mr. *Prance* and this Seignior *F. Ferria* into his Royal Care and Protection.

But

But theſe were ſmall matters to what follow.

Reſolved Nemine Contradicente,

That the Duke of York's *being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

Reſolved, That in defence of the King's Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, and that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any violent death, (which God forbid) they will Revenge it to the Uttermoſt upon the Papiſts. (who ever did it.)

Reſolved,

That a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

On *Tueſday* the 3^d. day of *November*, the Lords ſent down an Act they had paſſed for the better Regulating the Trials of the Peers of *England*, to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Commons; and it was read the ſame day and committed.

Mr. *Harnage* being then brought to the Bar, was continued in Cuſtody of the Serjeant during the Pleaſure of the Houſe. Not one tittle being inſerted concerning the Nature of his Miſdemeanor.

The Committee for Examination of the Journals were alſo appointed to inſpect the Impeachments againſt the Lords in the *Tower*, and the proceedings thereupon. And they were alſo to prepare Evidence againſt the ſaid Lords. And in the mean time they *Voted*,

Reſolved Nemine Contradicente,

That a Bill be brought in for the better Uniting of all his

his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects. This was now a New Name for a *Toleration,* as I will make it appear.

Ordered,

That Sir Tho. Whitegrave *and Mr.* Birch *of* Stafford *Apothecary, and Lieutenant* Ellis *be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant, to anſwer to the Charge given againſt them by Mr.* Dugdale.

Ordered,

That Herbert Herring *be ſent for in Cuſtody,&c.* for a Notorious Breach of Priviledge by him committed againſt Mr. *Colt* a Member of their Houſe; No account how or when being given.

But *Jeremiah Bubb* was onely Summoned to appear at the Bar to anſwer for a Breach of Priviledge committed againſt Mr. *Colt.*

The Bill for Prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel was read the ſecond time, and committed.

And Leave was given to bring in a Bill for the Exportation of Leather.

On *Thurſday* the 4*th* of *November* the ſaid Bill was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

And then Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* Reported his Majeſty's Anſwer concerning the Informers againſt the Popiſh Plot; which was, *That Care had, and ſhould be taken of them.*

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to inſpect the Act *intituled,* Trade Encouraged, *made in the* 15th *Year of his Majeſties Reign, and to bring in a Bill for prohibiting of* Scotch *Cattel at certain Seaſons.*

And

And then after ſome Debates and Votes concerning Elections, of which I ſhall take no Notice,

The Bill for diſabling the D. of *York* to Inherit, was read the firſt time and committed.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to Inſpect the Laws that are in being, touching the Maintenance of the Poor; and to bring in a Bill or Bills for Regulating and preventing the encreaſe of the Poor in this Kingdom.

On *Saturday* the *6th* of *November* it was Ordered, *That a Committee be appointed to Inſpect the Law concerning the Anniverſary Reading of the Narrative of the* Gunpowder-Plot *in Churches, on every Fifth day of* November, *and to Report the ſame to the Houſe.*

Reſolved N. C. That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth *and King* James *againſt Popiſh Recuſants, Ought not to be Extended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

It would have been well if we had been told why they ought not to be Extended to all that break them, one as well as another. And then how it ſhould be poſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe two Sorts of offenders one from the other, the offence being Exactly the ſame, tho the cauſe be a little different: And then thirdly, if a Bill had been brought in for that purpoſe, for the Votes of the Houſe of Commons are no binding Expoſitions of Law, nor I hope never will be. Laſtly, this Vote was needleſs, if the Bill of *Union* went on; and to no purpoſe if it did not; as I ſuppoſe they underſtand Now.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill for Repeal of all or any part of the Act of Parliament made in the 35th *Year of the Reign of Queen* Eliz. *Cap.*1. *Printed in the Statute Book of* Pulton.

This was a ſevere Act againſt the Diſſenters, and they were Now to be Countenanced and Encouraged to the utmoſt; for what end and purpoſe is not difficult to be gueſſed, by their Inſolence againſt the King and Government.

A Bill for Exportation of Cloth and other Woollen Manufactures into *Turkey* was read the firſt time and committed.

The Bill to diſable the Duke of *York* was read the Second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, with a Reſolution declared that it ſhould Extend to the Perſon of the Duke of *York* Onely; and that Committee was appointed on the next *Munday* Morning at Ten of the Clock: And accordingly it was that day Debated, and ſome Clauſes added to it.

On *Tueſday* the Ninth of *November* his Majeſty ſent the Commons another Meſſage by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, which was as followeth.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS Majeſty deſires this Houſe, as well for the Satisfaction of his People as of Himſelf, to Expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before them, relating to Popery, and the Plot; *and would have them reſt aſſured, That all Remedies they can tender*

to

to his Majeſty, conducing to thoſe Ends, ſhall be very acceptable to him; **Provided** *they be ſuch as may Conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.*

On *Wedneſday* the 10*th* of *November*, A Bill for Regulating the Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament for the Houſe of Commons, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read the ſecond time.

And the ſame day the Bill for prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel was read the third time and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

Now let the Reader obſerve, there was not one Publick Bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in all this time, but this; and yet no Bill was more oppoſed than this: but here the priyate Concerns of the *North* and *Weſt* Country Gentlemen were Engaged, and therefore they carried it on Might and Main againſt all oppoſition; but as for any Bills againſt Popery, they took no care or thought: for that againſt the Duke of *York* may perhaps be made to appear to be of another Nature then was pretended, and rather againſt any thing then Popery.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down to the Commons a Bill which they had paſſed, for Freeing the City of *London*, and his Majeſty's Court and the Parts adjacent, from Popiſh Inhabitants, and providing againſt other Dangers which may ariſe from Papiſts. To which they deſired their Concurrence.

Note, That this Bill had been ſent down from the Lords before, and the Commons had loſt the opportunity of paſſing it, as you will ſee they will in this Seſſion

ſion alſo, tho there were Tragical repreſentations made of the Danger the City and Nation were in from the Vaſt Numbers of them which were Seated in and about the City of *London*: The truth is, it was not convenient to looſe any thing that might ſerve to fright the People, and much better to have Papiſts in *London* for that purpoſe, than to have them ſent elſewhere,and looſe the means of Fermenting the Rabble. But if men were not as willing to be or at leaſt ſeem to be cheated, as others are to delude them, they would ſoon perceive whoſe intereſt it is to keep them in Fears and Jealouſies, and after diſcharge their Bug-bears, or turn their rage another way.

The ſame day they Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, in anſwer to his laſt Meſſage.

And that they would proceed in the proſecution of the Lords in the *Tower*,beginning with *William* Viſcount *Stafford*.

On *Thurſday* the 11*th* of *November*, 1680.

A Bill to prevent the offences of *Bribery*, and *Debauchery*, in Elections of Members to Serve in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, was Read the firſt time, and ordered to be read again the *Monday* following, with the Bill for Regulating Elections of Members to Serve in the ſaid Houſe, formerly mentioned.

This day the Bill againſt the Duke of *York* was read the third time, and paſſed; The Title whereof was reſolved to be, *An Act for Securing of the Proteſtant Religion, by Diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. And it was ordered that the Lord *Ruſſel* ſhould carry it up to the Lords, for their Concurrence.

The

The Bill ſent down by the Lords for Freeing the City of *London* from Popiſh Recuſants, was read the firſt time on *Friday*, and Ordered a ſecond reading in a full House. 12. *Nov.*

This day the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, to Acquaint them with their Intentions to begin with the Viſcount *Stafford*, and to deſire them to appoint a Convenient time for the Tryal, and that the Lords in the *Tower* might be Confined and kept from holding Correſpondence with one another, as perſons impeached and committed for High Treaſon by Law ought to be.

The Lords anſwered, *As to the latter part of this Meſſage, They had taken Care already in it; and as to the former, They appointed* Tueſday *the Thirtieth day of the ſame Moneth.*

And they further reſolved to Addreſs to his Majeſty for a Sum of Money for defraying the Charges of Summoning of Witneſſes and other Expences Incident to the Proſecution and Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower*, and appointed Mr. *Charles Clare* to Receive and Expend the ſame; for which purpoſe his Majeſty gave Order that 100 l. ſhould be Iſſued out of the Exchequer.

On *Saturday* the 13*th* of *November*,

Sir *Robert Teomans* being upon his own Petition called to the Bar, he Acknowledged his offence, and was ordered to receive the Cenſure of the Houſe upon his Knees; to which he ſubmitted, and was diſcharged, paying his Fees.

The Lords returned the Bill againſt Importing of *Iriſh* Cattel agreed to Commons the ſame day.

The City of *London* having Petitioned the Houſe againſt Sir *George Jeffereys* their Recorder, and it being

ing

ing referred to a Committee, they passed this Vote, *Resolved,*

That this Committee is of Opinion, That by the Evidence given to this Committee, it does appear that Sir George Jeffereys, *Recorder of the City of* London, *by traducing and obstructing Petitioning for the Sitting of This Parliament, hath betrayed the Rights of the Subject.*

To which the House agreed, and Ordered, *That an Humble Address be made to his Majesty, to remove him out of all Publick Offices*; and appointed a Committee to draw up the same. As if it had been likely his Majesty would have so far complyed with them, as to have punished the *Recorder* for obeying his Laws and Proclamation, against a Tumultuous and Seditious Sort of men.

But however his Majesty might Act, they had another aim in this, for they Voted, *That the Members of their House that Served for the City of* London, *should communicate this Vote and Resolution of their House, to the Court of Aldermen for the City of* London.

This was a sure way to bespeak a Party in the City to Joyn with the House against the Abhorrers.

They further *Ordered*, That this Committee should enquire into all such persons as have been Advising, or Promoting of the late Proclamation, stiled, *A Proclamation against Tumultuous Petitioning.*

Thus having passed thus far without any check from any person, they thought they might proceed as far further as they pleased. And it is very probable that they were spurred on to this by their Friends and Enemies; the one designing to make them Terrible; and the other, being willing to make them Hated. However, I am sure they they became more hated than feared by this and many other such proceedings.

As

As the Parliament, that is, the Commons, Courted the City, ſo the City was as kind to them, and Calling a Common Councel, Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty to declare their Loyalty; and to Petition him that the *Parliament* might Sit until *Proteſtantiſme* was Secured; I believe they might mean innocently, tho I am well Secured that this would have perpetuated them to the End of the World, if ſome amongſt them might have been Judges of the time when this great work was perfected.

But this did not Edify with his Majeſty, who penetrated to the bottom of theſe little Projects, and was not over-pleaſed with this Correſpondency betwixt this and the Commons, remembring what ill effects this Conjunction had in the Reign of his Father. So he Adviſed the Common-Councel to meddle with thoſe things that lay before them, and aſſuring them, *That he would Labour to maintain the Proteſtant Religion as it was Eſtabliſhed by Law*; (which was more than they deſired,) he diſmiſſed them.

On *Munday* the 15*th* day of *November*.

A Bill againſt the Importation of Cattel from *Scotland* was Read the firſt time, and Ordered a Second Reading the *Saturday* following at Ten of the Clock.

This day was delivered the following Meſſage to the Commons.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS Majeſty did in his Speech, at the Opening of this Seſſion of Parliament, deſire your Advice and Aſſiſtance, in relation to Tangier:

the Condition and Importance of the Place obliges his Majesty to put this House in mind again, That He relies upon them for the Support of it, without which it cannot be much longer preserved. His Majesty doth therefore Earnestly Recommend **Tangier** *again to the due and speedy Consideration and Care of this House.*

A Debate thereupon arising in the House, they Voted, *That they would proceed in the Consideration of this Message the next* Wednesday *Morning at Ten of the Clock.*

A Bill sent down from the Lords, Intituled, *An Act for the better Regulating the Tryals of the Peers of* England, *was Read the Second time, and Committed upon the Debate of the House.*

This day the Bill for Disabling the Duke of *York* was Read the first time in the House of Peers; and the question being put, Whether it should be read again? the House divided.

Noes, 63.
Yeas, 30.

So it was Thrown out; the Bishops all appearing against the Bill, Except three, for which some of the Commons Reflected upon them, with great Liberty, as if no body could be for the Duke but he must be for Popery.

The House of Commons taking notice of this, were so discomposed, that they Adjourned themselves on *Tuesday* Morning, and did nothing that day.

And the day following meeting in a very bad and discontented humour, and taking into Consideration the

Message

Meſſage about *Tangier*, They Reſolved upon an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty upon the Debate of the Houſe, Humbly repreſenting to him the dangerous State and Condition of the Kingdom.

And then it appearing that *George* Earl of *Hallifax* had been very Active in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Bill for Diſ-inheriting the Duke, they Reſolved alſo upon another Addreſs to his Majeſty, to remove the Earl from his Majeſties Preſence and Councils for Ever. And this was all they did the Second day after. The Houſe being in a perfect Fret, and the Country-Party Heating themſelves by their Speeches to that height, they were ſcarce able to Conſider what was fit to be ſaid or asked.

And now that the Peers of *England* have paſſed their Judgment concerning this Bill, I will add ſome ſhort Reflections upon the Bill, which I ſhall ſhall ſubmit to my Reader, as it is fit I ſhould.

Firſt, Then, I do acknowledg it is a great affliction to any *Proteſtant* Country to fall into the Hands of a Popiſh Prince; and worſe for *England* then for moſt other, becauſe of the great and implacable Malice the Jeſuits and the whole Church of *Rome* have ever born to the Religion Eſtabliſhed amongſt us, which is more eaſily defended againſt them, then any other Reformed Church, as being founded upon greater Antiquity, and more conformable to the Primitive Church of the Three or Four firſt *Centuries*, then either the Church of *Rome*, or any of the Reformed Churches in theſe *Weſtern* Parts of the World: and therefore they of the Church of *Rome* Have left no ſtone unturned, to Subvert her, imploying all their own Wit and Power againſt her ever ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* began; and ſticking neither at Perjury, Treaſon, Murther, nor any other Villa-

ny that they thought might conduce to that End: and when God had by his Gracious Providence defeated all these their Damnable Projects, They Transformed themselves into the shapes of our own Protestant Dissenters, and so promoted a Rebellion which ended in the seeming Ruine of this Religion and Government, to their mighty Content and Satisfaction; but tho his Majesty at his Return re-settled this Church, yet they did not give over, but by a Toleration by spreading Pamphlets written in the Stile of the Dissenters, and so very acceptable to them, by discouraging all that opposed our Intestine Divisions, and a multitude of such other frauds, they have in Twenty Years time so shaken her foundations again, that his Majesty can hardly now preserve and uphold her against the Popish Party on the one hand, and the Dissenters on the other.

So that if this poor persecuted Church should fall into the hands of a Prince of their Communion, She is to Expect whatever the most Enraged Malice armed with his Authority, can inflict upon her, and She hath all the reason in the world to expect the Dissenters will joyn with them to afflict and ruine her. Not out of any Kindness to Popery, but out of an implacable hatred they two have Conceived against her. So that I must and will Conclude the Church of *England* hath the greatest reason in the world to dread that day that shall put her into such hands.

But yet still with this limitation notwithstanding, that by Avoiding one Mischief, she should not plunge her Self into a greater; that is, by flying a Persecution from men, to fall into a Rebellion against her God and Saviour, by whose Providence Kings and Princes (of what Religion soever they be) rule; and by whom they have in all Ages been so Ordered, Disposed and Govern-

ed,

ed, as He in his Divine and Holy Wiſdom Saw moſt Expedient for the Proſperity or Chaſtiſement of his Church, to the greater encreaſe of her Glory and Happineſs in the world to come.

Two things I will lay down as Undoubted Rules or Maximes.

1. That the Kingdom of *England* is an Hereditary Kingdom or Monarchy, which for many Ages hath gone to the Next Heirs, be they Males or Females, of the Blood Royal; without any Election or Conſent of the People, otherwiſe then by acknowledging their Lawful Right derived from God, by their Blood to them.

The Second is, That this Hereditary Monarchy was ſet up at firſt, and hath been ſince upheld and maintained by the Providence of God.

From which two I will infer this Concluſion, That who ever ſhall attempt to alter this Right of Succeſſion without a manifeſt revelation, (which is not now to be expected) is a Notorious Uſurper upon the Right of the Perſon who is to Succeed, be the pretence for it what it will; and a Rebel againſt that Providence which gave him that Right.

Nor will all the Antient Rebellions, Uſurpations and Diſorders, which have hapned in this Kingdom, Juſtify them that ſhall begin them again.

Now if it ſhould pleaſe God ſo to order it, that the Duke ſhould at his Majeſties Death be the Next Heir to his Crown; I cannot ſee how any humane Power ſhall prevent his Succeſſion to it, but by encroaching upon his Right, and by rebelling againſt the Divine Providence that gave it to him.

So

So that be the Inconveniences that ſhall follow upon ſuch a Succeſſion what they will or can be, we muſt ſubmit to them upon pain of Rebellion againſt both God and his Anointed our Lawful Prince. And then let any man be judge whether it is better to fall into the Hands of a Popiſh Prince, or into the Hands of an Angry God, who is a Conſuming fire; and who is not bound by any Act of Parliament from afflicting a Sinful and Rebellious People.

So tho the Church of *England* hath all the reaſon in the world to dread ſuch a Prince, yet ſhe will have greater reaſon to dread a Rebellion againſt him, becauſe it runs her upon the Divine Vengeance, and is directly contrary to her Principles, and the Practiſe of the Apoſtles and Primitive Church, and is plain down-right Popery. So that I conclude Neither She nor any of her Children, will be guilty of it, come what will come.

The Oath of Supremacy.

But this is not all, we are already Sworn to *Bear Faith* and true Allegiance to the Kings Highneſs, His Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, and that to our power we ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdiction, Priviledges, Pre-Eminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, or United and Annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; of which that of an hereditary Succeſſion is one of the principal; and we are Sworn not onely to his Majeſty, (whom God Long Continue) but alſo to his Lawful Succeſſors: with which Oath none but they that have that Right can diſpence; for this being a promiſſory Oath made to them as well as him, when their Rights ſhall fall, his Majeſty cannot remit their Right, nor any of them anothers; but they have Every of them in their reſpective degrees and orders an indiſpenſable Right confirmed to them by this Oath. Nor would they

they ceaſe to be Lawful Succeſſors in the Sence of this Oath, tho a Law were made to prevent, bar, or cut off their Succeſſion; becauſe all that is meant by the word *Lawful*, in this place, is to be underſtood by the common Rules of Succeſſion Settled by the Common Law of *England*; *viz.* the Eldeſt Son or Daughter before a Younger of the ſame Sex, *&c.* Now if his Majeſty cannot do it, much leſs can the Lords or Commons do it, becauſe they are all within the obligation of this Oath, and it is unreaſonable that men ſhould diſpence with their own promiſſory Oathes to others; for this would deſtroy all Faith and Confidence amongſt men, and pull up the very Roots of all Society and Government. Nor can any man imagine that this Oath was made in favour of a Proteſtant Succeſſor only, *H.* 8. being a Popiſh Prince, in whoſe time it was Settled at firſt. And the ſame in effect is Sworn by the Oath of Allegiance with this binding Clauſe, *I do believe, and in my Conſcience am reſolved, that neither the Pope, nor any other Perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this Oath or any part thereof, which I Acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully Miniſtred unto me.* And by this Oath we are alſo bound to bear Faith and true Allegiance (not onely) to his Majeſty, (but to) his Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and *Them* to *Defend* to the Utmoſt of our power, *&c.* Which is to be underſtood according to their ſeveral and reſpective Rights, and at ſuch times as they ſhall grow and accrew to them and every of them. And altho this Oath was Introduced by a Proteſtant Prince, yet is not made to him as a Proteſtant, but as Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm; and who ever is So, hath and muſt have Right to impoſe it upon us, be his Religion what it will. So that beſides the former Sin of Rebellion againſt the Providence

dence of God, Here is an Apparent and Unavoidable Perjury in this Caſe to Aggravate the other. And ſurely no good Religious man will run upon theſe two Hideous Sins deliberately, to avoid any temporal affliction whatſoever.

So that were the Caſe juſt ſuch as it is repreſented by the Author of the *Character of a Popiſh Succeſſor*, It would not Juſtify the Excluding of ſuch a Succeſſor as he hath deſcribed, by Force and Arms, againſt his Right and our Oathes to the Contrary, tho we were never ſo certain to Succeed in the Attempt. But then that wicked man has moſt falſly repreſented things to us, and So as it is impoſſible they ſhould ever prove in the Event, if we do not give occaſion for it by an improſperous Rebellion; nay I believe I may ſay if we ſhould.

Firſt it is agreed by All the World, That there are Ten Proteſtants for one Papiſt thro all the Dominions of *England*; So that if ſuch a Succeſſor ſhould attempt to Extirpate them; the bare refuſing to aid or aſſiſt him in ſuch an enterprize, would render it impoſſible.

Secondly, All our Laws are in favour of that Religion that is Eſtabliſhed, which could never be Repealed but in Parliament; and it is morally impoſſible to have a Parliament the major part of which will not be Proteſtants, who will never Conſent to ruine themſelves.

Thirdly, The Revenue of ſuch a Prince will not bear the Charge of ſo great an Army as will be neceſſary to reduce the People to a Religion ſo generally deteſted and hated as this is.

In anſwer to this, there is Two things pretended. Firſt, That he may have Foraign Ayds; And Secondly,

That

That he will have means to deter or allure many from the Proteſtant Religion to his own.

As to Foraign aſſiſtances, no Prince will dare to admit ſo many as ſhall totally over-power his own People, becauſe then they will be able to ruine him, as the *Saxons* did the *Brittains*; and he may be ſure they will do it. So that this is a ridiculous Suppoſition in a Prince of our own Nation that hath No other Dominions but theſe.

As to any Number of People that he may be able to bring over to his Religion, they will be very inconſiderable in proportion to thoſe that will never be brought over, tho we ſuppoſe the Number greater then it is like to be; for that ſome men have got a way of Reproaching all they hate with the Name of *Papiſts*, becauſe there is none more hated than that; yet even for that caſe the Number muſt be ſmall, being very unwilling to Liſt themſelves in a hated Party, Except they may have great Advantages by it; which are not to be afforded to many (in proportion to the reſt) in one Kings Reign, in ſo ſmall a Kingdom as *England*.

Thirdly, The very attempting this with Force and Violence, will drive ſo many people out of the Nation, that the Prince will deſtroy both his Revenue, and Security; which we may believe no man will do for his own ſake.

To this we may add, That it is three to one whether we have any ſuch Prince. Who but God can tell whether ever the Duke ſhall Survive his Majeſty. Whether, if he do, he ſhall be the Next Heir; and whether, if he be So, his Intereſt, the Grace of God, or meer humane

Inconſtancy, may not work upon him to return to that Religion he was firſt principl'd in, and for which his Royal Father moſt Gloriouſly Laid down his Life.

And after all this, Suppoſing he ſhould Succeed and be Zealous for his *Religion*, and Suppoſe that to be Popery; there is no neceſſity that he muſt Act all the worſt Principles of Popery to the Utmoſt degree. I am ſure it is not uſual ſo to do, tho the difficulty be not ſo great as here it will be.

And after all, doth not the Providence of God govern the Popiſh as well as Proteſtant Princes? Is the Arm of the Almighty ſhortned that he can neither Deliver nor Support his Church? or hath he forſaken her in her Old Age, who preſerved her with So much Care and Power in her Infancy under Heathen Princes for above Three hundred Years? and under *Arrian* Princes (which were as bad as the worſt Papiſts) a long time after that. Do we believe this Proteſtant Religion is acceptable to him? Are the far greateſt part of them that profeſs it, Sincere or Falſe in their pretences? If all theſe be anſwered one way, we have Something to rely upon that is more Steady, than the Faith and Religion of Princes. If in the other, it will be but a folly to pretend to Secure by humane Arts, that which God is reſolved to deſtroy.

But the reaſon upon which the Bill of Excluſion is built, is worſe than the thing. Firſt they Vote, *That the Dukes being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his Coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

They Vote the Duke a Papiſt, which is more than any man living can tell but himſelf; and if it ſhould be granted that he is So, what then? Then this hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent

preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion; and then the Concluſion is, That therefore he muſt be diſ-inherited. To me it ſeems better Logick to ſay, Then all poſſible Care and Art is to be imployed to reduce him back to our Church; whereas this way of proceeding with him can end in nothing but the enraging and exaſperating of him againſt the Proteſtant Religion.

But then the Duke's being a Papiſt hath not given the greateſt, nor, if we may believe Mr. *Oates*, hardly any Encouragement to the *Plot*: for he tells us, that *Article* 60. when he urged, *That he feared the Death of the King would ſcarely do the buſineſs and effect the Deſign, unleſs his R. H. would pardon thoſe that did the buſineſs, and ſtand by them in it. Keines* replyed, *That the Duke was not the Strength of their Truſt; for they had another way to effect the ſetting up the C. R. &c. And if* James *did not Comply with them, to pot he muſt go alſo.* And Article 29. *If the Duke ſhall ſet his face in the leaſt meaſure to follow his Brothers foot-ſteps, his Paſsport was made to Lay him aſleep.* And Article 24. They the Jeſuits aver, *That altho the Duke was a good Catholique, yet he had a tender affection for the King, and would ſcarcely be engaged in that Concern; and if they ſhould once intimate their Deſigns and Purpoſes unto him, they might not onely be fruſtrated of their Deſign, but alſo might loſe his Favour.* Art. 16. He ſaith he putting this queſtion, *What if the Duke ſhould prove Slippery?* They replyed, *His Paſsport was ready when ever he ſhould Appear to fail them.* And page the 64. He tells us, *He* (the Pope) *hath ordered, That in caſe the D. of* York *will not accept theſe Crowns as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope, as of his Gift, and ſettle ſuch Prelates and Dignities in the Church, and ſuch Officers in Commands and Places Civil, Naval, and*

Military, as he hath Commiſſioned, Extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and in order thereunto Ex poſt facto; *Conſent the Aſſaſſination of the King his Brother, Maſſacre of his Proteſtant Subjects, Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning of the Aſſaſsins, Murtherers and Incendiaries, that then he alſo be Poyſoned or deſtroyed, after they have for ſome time abuſed his Name and Title to Strengthen their Plot, &c.* All which Paſſages in his and other of the Narratives ſhew plainly the D. being a Papiſt was not the greater, nay it was hardly any encouragement to the *Plot*: and tho ſome of them have gone farther than Mr. *Oates*, yet that ſhews the Jeſuits had different opinions of His R. Highneſs; and therefore had no aſſurance: but if the *Plot* upon the Life of the King had ſucceeded, he might have revenged it upon them tho he were of their Religion as they believed.

But becauſe theſe things may be diſputed both ways, Suppoſe I ſhould grant the Hopes of his Coming a Papiſt to the Crown, did really give the greateſt Encouragement to the *Plot*; will diſ-inheriting him defeat thoſe hopes? No, but it will rather whet them on to do their utmoſt to Murther the King to prevent or revenge that injury to the Duke: and of this the Houſe was ſo ſenſible, that the ſame day they paſſed this *Vote*, they *Added* to it this that follows.

Reſolved N. C.

That in Defence of the Kings Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will Stand by His Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any Violent Death, (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the Utmoſt upon the Papiſts.

This

This latter Vote they have annexed to the former every time they have paſſed it, which ſhews they are ſenſible Revenge and Deſpair are full as likely to puſh them on, as Hope, to this Horrid attempt: and in that caſe this *Vote* will never hinder them, but it may encourage the *Scotch* Aſſaſſins to do it if they can; Knowing the Papiſts are to Suffer, who ever doth the fact.

So that to me it ſeems the Reaſons upon which the Bill is founded, are weak and unconcluding, and that no Malice could have Contrived a more effectual way to haſten thoſe Calamities upon us it pretends to prevent, and to aſcertain what is full as likely never to happen without it.

So I conclude the Lords did well and wiſely in rejecting the Bill, and the Biſhops in joyning with them ſo to do.

And now I will proceed with the reſt of the *Votes*, having made this ſhort Digreſſion to Expreſs my thoughts on this great affair, which I ſubmit to the Judgment of wiſer men; and ſhall willingly retract or amend any thing if I have erred; for I ſeek nothing by all this but the Peace and Proſperity of my Country.

There being little done of importance on *Thurſday* the 18*th* day of *November*, the next day the Commons fell upon the buſineſs of the Abhorrers of the Petitions; and began with the Grand-Juries for the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Devon*, which had both deteſted and abhorred the ſaid Tumultuous Petition. So they Ordered, That Sir *Giles Philips* and *William Coleman*, being the Fore-men of the ſaid *Grand-Juries*, ſhould be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending their Houſe, to anſwer at the Bar of their Houſe, for Breach of Priviledge by them committed againſt their *Houſe*.

Before

Before in Sir *George Jeffereys* Caſe, it was for betraying the *Rights of the Subject*, and Now 'tis become a *Priviledge of Parliament* for the People to Petition by Hundreds and Thouſands for the Sitting of a Parliament. At this rate of Proceeding, there will be Priviledges of Parliament enough at laſt.

At the ſame time they ordered Captain *William Caſtle* and Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, and Mr. *Henry Walrond*, the two laſt being of the ſaid *Grand-Juries*, to be Sent for in Cuſtody too. So this was a pretty handſom beginning.

But the next day they found that Mr. *William Stawell* was Fore-man for the Grand-Jury for *Devon*, and not Mr. *Coleman*, ſo they ordered his Name to be put out of the Warrant, and Mr. *Stawell's* to be put in. This ſhews with what heat and haſte they managed this affair.

But why ſhould the Fore-men of the Grand-Juries be ſent for, rather than all or any of the reſt; the Foreman having no more Authority than the Laſt man, nor being any way inabled by his place to Help or Hinder any thing, but being Concluded by the Major part, be his own Opinion what it will? but they could not tell who promoted this affair, and therefore Right or Wrong, Singled them out to be made Examples, not thinking it convenient to ſend for the whole Number, who yet, were puniſhed in theſe; and not only they that ſuffered, but every Gentleman in the Nation ſuffer'd in them; their Liberties being at the Mercy of every Corporation, who when they pleaſe may ſend Taylors, Grocers, &c. to enjoy theſe exorbitant priviledges, and Send for the beſt Knights and Gentlemen in *England*, for not, having payd reſpects great enough to them.

The

The Bill of Importation of Cattel from *Scotland* was read the ſecond time, and Committed.

Then they proceeded in the buſineſs of the *Abhorrers*, and Voted, That one *Thomas Herbert* Eſq; ſhould be ſent for in Cuſtody, for proſecuting *John Arnold* Eſq; at the Council Table, for promoting the ſaid Petition, and procuring Subſcriptions.

To him they added Sir *Thomas Holt*, Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Staples*, as Betrayers of the Liberties of the Subject.

The ſame day one *Eld* was diſcharged out of Cuſtody; who had been taken for not Making a good Search for Arms at the Lord *Aſton's* Houſe at *Taxall* in *Staffordſhire*. Notice being taken that he was a **Sober Proteſtant**, (what that means I muſt leave to my Reader; for I never heard that any ſort of *Proteſtants* made Drunkenneſs, or Debauchery, or any other ſort of Inſobriety a part of *Proteſtantiſme*, and I ſhould have liked it better if it had been a **Confiding Man**,) and an Enemy to the Popiſh Faction: It were worth the while to enquire how he ſtood affected to the *Puritan Faction*.

On *Munday* the 22 of *November*,

Two Bills for Regulating Elections were read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee to unite or divide them as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

The day following Sir *Thomas Holt* petitioning the Houſe, was called in and Cenſured upon his Knees, and Diſcharged.

The ſame day a further *Addreſs* was *Voted*, to Petition his Majeſty to remit a Fine of 500 l. that had been ſet upon Mr. *Benjamin Harris*, for Printing *Seditious Libels*. Such men were not to be diſcouraged, in an Age when ſo few were to be found, who would undertake

dertake that dangerous Imployment for the good of the Nation.

The ſame day a Bill was brought in for Repeal of an *ACT* made in the 35 of *Eliz. Cap.* 1. Againſt Seditious and Diſloyal *Sectaries* and *Conventicles*; this Bill paſſed both Houſes, but was taken away, before it was Signed by the King. So that *Statute* Eſcaped then; to the terror of thoſe *Proteſtants*.

There having been a deſign to Indict the Duke of *York* for a Popiſh Recuſant in *Trinity* Term this Year, and the ſame being prevented by the Court of *Kings-Benches* diſcharging the Grand-Jury before they had found the ſame, the Houſe made this *Vote*,

That the diſcharging of a Grand-Jury by any Judge before the end of the Term, Aſsizes or Seſsions, whileſt Matters are under their Conſideration, and Not preſented, is Arbitrary, Illegal and Deſtructive to publick Juſtice, a manifeſt Violation of his Oath, (what Oath) *and is a Means to Subvert the* **Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.**

Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to Examine the Proceedings of the Judges in Weſtminſter-Hall, *&c.*

On *Wedneſday, November* 24.

After Orders for the ſending for *George Bell* an Attorney at Law, *Arthur Yeomans*, *William Jordan*, *John Laws*, and *Henry Aulnett*, for Breach of Priviledge of Parliament, without aſsigning wherein; Order was given to bring in a Bill,

1. To Supply the Laws againſt *Bankrupey*.

2. And another to take away the Court held before the Lord Preſident and Council in the *Marches* of *Wales*.

Then the Bill for Repeal of the 35 *Eliz. Cap.* 1. was read the Second time, and Ordered to be ingroſſed.

Ordered,

Ordered, That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof as are of His Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privy Council, to deſire his Majeſty to give Orders, That all **Protestant Dissenters,** *who are proſecuted upon any Penal Laws made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James, *may be Admitted to a Compoſition in the* Exchequer, *without paying any Fees.*

Which was granted by his Majeſty.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill declaring that thoſe Laws ſhall not be Extended to P. Diſſenters; and that it be referred to the Committee appointed to bring in the Bill for the better Uniting of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects.

The Attorney-General being ordered formerly to attend, and This day Called in and Examined touching the Manner of Iſſuing forth of the *P.* ſtiled, **A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitions,** and Giving an Account to the Houſe, That Sir *Fra. North* Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, was Adviſing and Aſsiſting in the drawing up and paſsing of the ſaid Proclamation; and a Debate thereupon ariſing in the Houſe, they *Reſolved N. C. That it was ſufficient Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon an Impeachment againſt him for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*; and order taken for an Impeachment accordingly.

Thus the Diſſenters are encouraged to go on and break the Laws, and the Judges puniſhed for Executing them.

On *Thurſday* the 25 of *November*, Nothing Extraordinary was done, but the Exhibiting Articles againſt *Edward Seymour* Eſquire, formerly *Speaker* of the Houſe; to Each of which he being required to make a diſtinct

anſwer, there ariſing a Debate upon the firſt Article, the whole was adjourned to the next day.

Samuel Verdon Under-Sheriff of *Norfolk*, was ordered to be ſent for into Cuſtody, upon a Complaint of ſeveral Crimes and Miſdemeanors by him committed: For a Notorious Breach of Priviledge of Parliament by him committed againſt their Houſe; No ſuch thing being mentioned in the Complaint.

Friday, Novemb. 26. The Bill of Repeal of the 35 of *Eliz.* was read the third time, and paſſed.

And the Houſe reſolved to Impeach Mr. *Seymour* upon 4 Articles, and appointed a Committee to draw up thoſe Articles accordingly, and Referred it to them to conſider of Precedents concerning the Committing of Members to Cuſtody when Impeached in Parliament.

On *Munday* the 29 day of *November*, the Houſe attended his Majeſty with their *Addreſs* concerning *Tangier*; which being very long, I will not trouble the Reader with it at Large.

The whole is a Tragical repreſentation of the Advantages that Popery had gotten over the Religion and Government, *Aſsiſted* (as they tell us) *by the Treachery of perfidious Proteſtants*, which muſt be the Diſſenters, by whoſe aſsiſtance they obtained the Toleration, broke ſeveral Seſsions of the Long Loyal Parliament, if *Coleman's* Letter to Monſieur *Le Cheſe* may be Credited; and it may truly be averred, that the Papiſts have not obtained any Advantage without the Diſſenters, nor the Diſſenters without them.

They ſay further, *That the ACT of Parliament enjoyning a* Teſt *to be taken by all perſons admitted into any Publick Office, and intended for a Security againſt Papiſts*

coming

coming into Imployment, had So little effect, that either by diſpenſations, obtained from Rome, *they Submitted to thoſe* Teſts, *and held their Offices themſelves. or thoſe put into thoſe Places, wore ſo favourable to the ſame Intereſt, that Popery it ſelf has rather gained than loſt ground ſince that A C T.*

Now Suppoſing it true, that ſome of them did obtain ſuch diſpenſations, what was this to his Majeſty; and if any of them that gat their Offices were apt to afford them unlawful favours, they might have called them to account for it, with much more general Satisfaction than they did the *Abhorrers*: but let any man that Knowes any thing of the World, Judge whether the Malice or falſehood of the Concluſion be greateſt.

They tell the King a dreadful Story of the defeating of the Preſentment intended againſt his Majeſties Brother the Duke of *York*, under whoſe Countenance all the reſt (of the Papiſts) ſhelter themſelves, as they ſay. But ſurely his Majeſty was not to be informed what they thought of this, who could not but be well informed of the Fact long ſince; and ſo they deſcend to the buſineſs of the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which Expoſes *Popery* (*as it deſerves*, ſay they) as Ridiculous to the People; and they tell his Majeſty, *That a New and Arbitrary Rule of Court was made in his Majeſties Court of* Kings-Bench, *That the ſame for the future ſhould not be Printed by any perſon whatſoever.* But then they take no Notice how that Author has made many Odious, Falſe, and Scandalous, Reflections upon the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed; which was the cauſe why it was Suppreſt, and not any talent he had of writing againſt *Popery*.

Finally, They tell the King that they have freed themſelves from the guilt of that Blood and deſolation

which is like to enſue: which is an Expreſsion in that place that looks like a kind of Threat or Menace; for there was then No proſpect of blood or deſolation that could ariſe from any cauſe or perſons but what muſt be Countenanced by the Diſſenters.

The Concluſion is; *But our Onely hope, next under God, is in Your Sacred Majeſty, that by your Great Wiſdome and Goodneſs we may be effectually Secured from Popery, and all the Evils that attend it, and that none but perſons of Known Fidelity to Your Majeſty, and Sincere Affection to The Proteſtant Religion, may be put into any Imployment Civil or Military. That whilſt we ſhall give a Supply to* Tangier, *we may be aſſured we do not Augment the Strength of our Popiſh Adverſaries, nor encreaſe our own Dangers; which Deſires of your Faithful Commons if Your Majeſty ſhall Graciouſly vouchſafe to grant, we ſhall not onely be ready to aſsiſt Your Majeſty in defence of* Tangier, *but do whatſoever elſe ſhall be in our power to enable Your Majeſty to Protect the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt at home and abroad, and to reſiſt and repel the Attempts of Your Majeſties and the Kingdoms Enemies.*

What Religion?

But His Majeſty notwithſtanding continued without any Supply, and by the Bleſſing of God preſerved the Town. Now it is very obſervable, that in the former Parliament there being a Report, *That* Tangier *ſhould be Sold to relieve the Neceſsities of the Crown,* they then Voted, *That the Houſe was of Opinion, That thoſe who ſhould Adviſe His Majeſty to part with* Tangier *to any Foraign Prince or State, or be Inſtrumental therein, ought to be accounted Enemies to the King and Kingdom*: And yet now that it was in apparent hazard to be loſt to the *Moors*, the Sworn Enemies of all Chriſtians, they would grant nothing to preſerve it; and many of the *Commons* in their Speeches were of Opinion, that it was the beſt

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way

way to desert the Town. So that if any did Advise his Majesty to Sell the Place, they were Enemies to the King and Kingdom; but if it were lost or deserted, So the King had nothing for it, the Matter was not much, so that the King might bear the blame, tho the Commons were in the fault.

On *TUESDAY* the 30*th* of *November*, the Tryal of *William* Viscount *Stafford* was began, which lasted till the 7*th* of *December*, of which I shall take no Notice, it being printed by it Self. During all which time there was nothing material done by the House of Commons except that business.

Wednesday the 8*th*, and *Thursday* the Ninth of *December*, were spent in Reporting of Elections, and discharging persons out of the Custody of the Serjeant, and Ordering others to be taken in to Supply their places.

But very remarkable was their *Severity* against Mr. *Sheridon* and Mr. *Day*, who were Ordered to be taken into Custody, their Papers to be Searched, and that No person should be Admitted to come to them, but such as should have occasion to bring them Necessaries.

On *Friday* the 10*th* of *December*, Captain *Castle* was found, and Voted guilty of offending against the Rights of the Subject, by Obstructing Petitioning to His Majesty for the *Sitting of that Parliament*.

The same day the Commons Ordered an Impeachment to be prepared against Sir *Francis North* Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, *viz.* for Advising the Proclamation against *Tumultuous Petitions*.

Then they Voted, That the Imprisonment of one *Peter Norris* at *Dover* by the Order of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*

kins, was *Illegal and Arbitrary, and an Obſtruction to the Evidence, for the Diſcovery of the Horrid Popiſh Plott.* This was the buſineſs for which *Sheridon* and *Day* were impriſoned.

On *Munday* the 13*th*, A Bill for Exportation of Cloth and other Woollen Manufactures into *Turkey*, being read the ſecond time, and a *Debate* ariſing thereupon, it was Ordered that it ſhould lie upon the Clerks Table.

They *Ordered* alſo, That *the Committee appointed to look into and prepare Evidence againſt the Lords in the* Tower, *do Examine the Evidence againſt all perſons concerned in the Popiſh Plot.* And they were to report the Names of ſuch perſons, together with their Opinions therein, to the Houſe upon the *Debate.*

And alſo that Leave ſhould be given to bring in a Bill, for Baniſhing of all Papiſts, and ſuſpected Papiſts from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and XX miles of the ſame, with Clauſes therein for diſarming of all Papiſts, and for Pains and Penalties againſt all ſuch *Papiſts*, or ſuſpected *Papiſts*, as ſhould *Ride, Go, or be Armed.* And that Liſts of them ſhould be brought in by the Members.

When ever any Law paſs againſt *ſuſpected Papiſts*, great care ought to be taken to limit that Looſe term, or great Miſchiefs will inſue.

On *Tueſday* the 14*th* of *December*, Complaint was made, That one *Herbert Herring* who had been ordered to be taken into Cuſtody for a Breach of *Priviledge*, did abſcond himſelf to avoid the Execution of the ſaid Order: whereupon it was

Reſolved, That if he did not render himſelf by Saturday, *that Houſe would proceed againſt him by Bill in Parliament, for endeavouring by his abſconding to Avoid the Juſtice of the Houſe.*

This

This was a way never to want Work, if every Fugitive Attorney or Porter that had broke the Priviledge of the Houſe, was to be brought in by Bill.

Sir *Robert Peyton*, a Member of their Houſe, was the Next that fell under their diſpleaſure, being ſaid to *Have had Secret Negotiation with the Duke of* Y. *by the Means of the Earl of* Peterborough, *Mrs.* Cellier, *and Mr.* Gadbury, *at ſuch time as they were turning the Popiſh Plot upon the Proteſtants, i. e.* the **Presbyterians**, it ſeems they are **The Protestants.** For which he was Ordered (after his defence) to be Expelled the Houſe, and to be brought to the Bar to receive the Cenſure of the Houſe upon his Knees from the *Speaker*.

Which was done with ſo little reſpect to the Quality of the perſon; that after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he ſent the Speaker a Challenge, for which he was Committed, having been before committed to the *Serjeant*, for not being at hand when it ſhould have been firſt done, by the Speaker. So he was twice Committed and Expell'd too, but by what Law, the Houſe of Commons *proceeded, I know not*.

It is the Intereſt both of the Members and of Us whom they repreſent, to take care that this be not left to them; for here was a Member Expelled not for being a party to that Conſpiracy of the Papiſts, but for having *Secret Negotiations* with the *Duke of York* at that time: and if this be allowed, that they may Expel for what cauſe they pleaſe, be there Law, or be there none, then have the greater part of the Houſe an Abſolute and Arbitrary power over the leſſer part; and if either Side do by accident get the Advantage of the other by a Single *Vote*, they may Expel them as they pleaſe: which muſt Neceſſarily end in Confuſion and Slavery.

On

On *Wedneſday* the 15*th* of *December*, the Houſe reſolved into a *Committee* of the whole Houſe, to Conſider of Ways and Means to Secure this Kingdom againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power; and Reſolved upon two Votes, *viz.*

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, That this Houſe doth agree with the Committee, That one Means for the Suppreſſing Popery is, That a Bill be brought in to baniſh, immediately, all the Conſiderable Papiſts of England *out of the Kings Dominions.*

Reſolved N. C. That this Houſe doth agree with the Committee, That a Bill be brought in for an Aſſociation *of all his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſties Perſon* *, *the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions whatſoever, and for preventing the Duke of* York *or any Papiſt from Succeeding to the Crown.*

* Note, here is no mention of his Majeſties Government in this *Aſſociation.*

And ordered a *Committee* to be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill purſuant to the firſt of the ſaid Reſolves.

The latter was taken up to Supply the Bill of Excluſion which bad been thrown out by the Lords, and was never proſecuted any further; for when they came to draw the Bill, it was found impracticable, without involving us preſently in a Civil War.

For an *Aſſociation* ſignifies nothing without a Head to govern and direct it; if the King be made the Head, then we are where we were, and it is to no purpoſe; If another perſon be made So, then there is two diſtinct Governments in the ſame Kingdom, which can never ſtand together a Month without imbroyling themſelves and the People. This the *Holy League of France* proved Experimentally true; and the ſame Event will always follow.

Beſides,

Beſides, there was no reaſon to Expect that either his Majeſty or the Houſe of Lords would yield to this way of Excluſion, which was worſe than the former; Tho if that had paſſed, it would have ſignified nothing without an Aſſociation or a Standing Army, as the Author of the *Seaſonable Addreſs to both Houſes of Parliament* hath well proved.

This day alſo His Majeſty made a Speech to both the Houſes, which I will inſert when I come to the Anſwer of the Commons to it.

On *Thurſday* the 16*th* of *December*, A Petition of Divers Inhabitants in the County of *Surry*, Complaining of the proceedings in an Eccleſiaſtical Court againſt them, being read, it was referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill or Bills for Regulating the proceedings of ſuch Courts.

A Petition of *Joſhua Brook* and other Merchants againſt the *African* Company was alſo read, and referred to a Committee.

Mr. *Booth* reporting from the Committee to whom the Bill for the better Regulating the Tryals of the Peers of *England* was committed, *An Amendment to be made, and a Clauſe to be Added*, and thereupon a Motion being made to bring in a Clauſe for *Repeal* of the Laws *de Scandalis Magnatum*, It was Ordered, That a Committee ſhould be appointed immediately to withdraw and prepare ſuch a Clauſe; Which was done, and paſſed the ſame day.

If the *Peers* had paſſed this Clauſe, they had reduced themſelves into the Condition of the Gentry and Commoners, and a man might have called the greateſt Lord in *England*, Knave, more Safely perhaps than his Taylor; but if they did not, then that Excellent Bill was to

be loſt to which they had tacked this Clauſe; which was quite of another Nature.

And it ought to be Conſidered alſo, That the Lords were Soon Voted down by the Commons once before, when by Separating themſelves from the Crown, they had loſt their Support; and they may be ſure the ſame thing will follow again, when ever the Commons ſhall prevail ſo far upon them, as to bring the Peerage into as Low a Condition as the Gentry, their Priviledges being, to ſpeak the truth, too little already to ſupport and maintain their Dignity and Honour: but of this I need ſay no more.

The Bill for Uniting his Majeſties *Proteſtant* Subjects to the Church of *England*, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read again the *Munday* following after Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.

Another Bill for Exempting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalties of the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read at the ſame time with the former again.

Friday Decemb. 17th.

Captain *Caſtle* petitioning to be diſcharged, was Cenſured on his Knees at the Bar of the Houſe; and diſmiſſed, paying his Fees.

A Petition of one *Richard Haines*, deſiring Leave that a Bill ſhould be brought in for reſtraining Vagrants, and promoting the Woollen Manufactures, was read, and committed to a Committee to prepare the ſaid Bill.

Leave alſo was given to bring in a Bill for the more eaſy Collecting of the Hearth-Money.

The Additional *ACT* for Burying in Woollen was read and paſſed, and ſent up by Sir *George Downing* to the Lords for their Concurrence.

A

A Bill for Continuance of two *Acts*, The one Entituled, *An Act for preventing the planting of Tobacco in* England, *and Regulating the Plantation Trade.* The Other, *An Act for Exporting Beer, Ale and Mum,* was read a ſecond time and committed.

Then the Houſe agreed the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Edward Seymour* Eſq; a Member of their Houſe, and Ordered him to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant, till he ſhould give Sufficient Security to their Houſe to anſwer the ſaid Impeachment: and the Serjeant at Arms was *Ordered* to take the ſaid Security.

The Bill for reſtraining *Papiſts* from coming or reſiding within the Cities of *London* or *Weſtminſter*, *&c.* was read the ſecond time, and committed.

Then the Houſe reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and paſſed theſe three Reſolves.

1. *That a Bill be brought in for the more effectual Securing of the Meeting and Sitting of Frequent Parliaments, as one means to prevent Arbitrary Power.*

2. *That a Bill be brought in that the Judges hereafter to be made and Appointed, may hold their Places and Salaries* quam diu ſe bene geſſerint; *and alſo to prevent the* Arbitrary Proceedings *of the Judges.*

3. *That a Bill be brought in againſt Illegal Exaction of Money upon the People, and to make it High Treaſon.*

And a Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill or Bills purſuant to the ſaid Reſolves.

It may appear from hence, great care was taken to put the Monarchy out of a poſſibility of Arbitrary Power; but what then; is it impoſsible that there ſhould be any Such Thing as Arbitrary power Exerciſed by any but a Monarch? Is not a *Common-Wealth* or a *Houſe of Commons* as capable of Arbitrary power, as a King? Were the Proceedings of the Long Rebel-Parliament

ment Arbitrary or No? Were not Some of the Actions of this very Houſe of Commons Arbitrary? I dare Say thoſe that ſuffered by them thought them ſo, and the reſt will be of the ſame mind if ever it comes to be their Turns to be ſo treated, which they are not ſure but at one time or other may happen. At leaſt I am ſure the pulling down the Monarchy did *Once before* bring in Arbitrary power with a *Vengeance*; and thoſe that had clamoured againſt it (as they do now) when there was no cauſe for it, durſt not mutter a Sillable when there was: and if they did really believe there were any danger of it Now, we ſhould hear much leſs than we do of it.

On *Saturday* the 18*th* of *December*.

The Bill for taking away the Court holden before the Preſident and Council in the Marches of *Wales*, was read the third time, and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

The reſt of this day was ſpent in returning an Anſwer to his Majeſties Speech.

On *Munday* following a Bill to prohibit the Importation of Foreign Guns, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

And Mr. *Aulnutt* and Mr. *Herbert* were Ordered to be diſcharged, being firſt Cenſured on their Knees, and paying their Fees.

And that Sir *John Lloyd* Mayor, and *William Jackſon* and *William Clutterbuck* late Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, be ſent for into Cuſtody.

On *Tueſday* the 21 of *December*, The Bill for *Uniting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects to the Church of* England, was read the ſecond time, and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe.

And it was *Ordered*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill or Bills for *Inſpecting and Correcting Pluralities*

and

and Non-Reſidences relating to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.

The ſame day they delivered their Anſwer to his Majeſties late Speech on *Wedneſday* the 15*th* of *December*; which I will here inſert according to my promiſe.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AT the Opening of this Parliament, I did acquaint you with the Alliances I had made with Spain *and* Holland, *as the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of* England *and the Repoſe of Chriſtendom.*

But I told you withall, That if Our Friendſhip *became Unſafe to truſt to, it would not be wondred at, if Our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as might be fatal to Us.*

I muſt tell you, That Our Allies cannot but ſee how little hath been done ſince this Meeting, to Encourage their Dependance upon Us; and I find by them, That Unleſs We can be So United at home, as to make Our Alliance valuable to them, it will not be poſsible to Hinder them from Seeking ſome other Refuge, and making Such New Friendſhips, *as will not be Conſiſtent with Our Safety. Conſider, that a* Neglect of this Opportunity is Never to be repaired.

I did likewiſe lay the Matter plainly before You, touching the Eſtate and Condition of Tangier, *I muſt Now tell you again, That if that Place be thought worth the Keeping, you muſt take ſuch Conſideration*

of it, that it may be ſpeedily Supply'd, it being impoſsible for Me to Preſerve it at an Expence ſo far above My Power.

I did promiſe you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts could wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, *and to Concur with you in any Remedies, Which might conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſsion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent: and I do again with the ſame Reſervations, renew the ſame Promiſes to You.*

And being thus ready on My part to do all that can reaſonably be Expected from Me, I ſhould be glad to Know from You, as Soon as may be, how far I ſhall be Aſsiſted by You, and what it is you deſire from Me.

The Anſwer to this Speech was as followeth.

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſties Moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, have taken into our Serious Conſideration, Your Majeſties Gracious Speech to both your Houſes of Parliament on the 15th of this Inſtant December, *and do with all the grateful Senſe of Faithful Subjects, and Sincere* * *Proteſtants, acknowledge Your Majeſties So great Goodneſs to us, in renewing the Aſſurances You have been pleaſed to give us of your readineſs to Concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and your Gra-*

* Of what Sort?

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cious Invitation of us to make our Desires Known to Your Majesty.

But with grief of Heart we cannot but observe, that to these Princely Offers, Your Majesty hath been Advised, (by what Secret Enemies to Your Majesty and your People, we Know not) to Annex a Reservation, which if insisted on, in the instance to which alone it is Applicable, will render all your Majesties other Gracious Inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your Promise of Concurrence in the Remedies which shall be proposed, that they may Consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its Due and Legal Descent. And we do Humbly Inform your Majesty, That No Interruption of that Descent* has been endeavoured by us, Except onely the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of* York, *who by the wicked Instruments of the Church of* Rome *has been manifestly perverted to their Religion. And we do Humbly represent to Your Majesty, as the Issue of our most deliberate Thoughts and Consultations*, That for the Papists to have their Hopes Continued, That a Prince of that Religion shall Succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, is Utterly inconsistent with the Safety of Your Majesties Person, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Property, Peace and Welfare of your Protestant Subjects.*

* It is probable His Majesties constancy in this denyal, proceeds from his own Prudence and Natural Affection, to his Royal Brother, at least it may be So for ought any thing they Know to the contrary.

* For the present; but if this be granted once, who Knowes when it may?

* The contrary of which is believed true, not onely by the House of Lords; but by almost all the Gentry and better Part of the Nation, who have another Title besides that of *Protestants at Large*; viz. *By Law Established*, which these men durst never own.

That your Majesties Sacred Life is in Continual Danger under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is evident,

not

not onely from the Principles of thoſe devoted to the Church of Rome, *which allow that an Heretical Prince (and ſuch they term all Proteſtant Princes) Excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope, may be Deſtroyed and Murther'd; but alſo from the Teſtimonies given in the proſecution of the Horrid Popiſh Plot, againſt divers* Traytors *Attainted for deſigning to put thoſe accurſed Principles into practice againſt Your Majeſty.*

The ſame Principles varied in but one circumſtance, are owned by the Diſſenters and Common-Wealth Party, who are ſet up by the Excluſion as much as the Papiſts are defeated, which ought to be conſidered at the ſame time.

From the Expectation of this Succeſſion, has the Number of Papiſts in Your Majeſties Dominions ſo much encreaſed within theſe few Years, and ſo many been prevailed with to deſert the true Proteſtant Religion, that they might be prepared for the Favours of a Popiſh Prince as ſoon as he ſhould come to the poſſeſsion of the Crown: and while the ſame Expectation laſts, many more will be in the ſame danger of being perverted,

The ſame inconveniences have ariſen from the Expectation of another *Common-Wealth & Presbytery.*

This is that hath hardned the Papiſts of this Kingdom, Animated and Confederated by their Prieſts aod Jeſuits, to make a Common Purſe, Provide Arms, Make Application to Foreign Princes, and Solicit their Aid, for impoſing Popery upon us; and all this even during Your Majeſties Reign, and whileſt Your Majeſties Government and the Laws were our Protection.

It is Your Majeſties Glory and True Intereſt to be the Head and Protector of all Proteſtants, as well Abroad as at Home: but if theſe Hopes remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Proteſtant

It is mpoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve this Glory, but by preſerving his Kingly Dignity and Power, which is the foundation of the other; and the Attempts

teſtant Religion and Intereſt, which ſhall give Confidence to Your Majeſties Allies, to joyn ſo vigorouſly with your Majeſty, as the State of that Intereſt in the World now requires, whileſt they ſee this Proteſtant Kingdome in ſo much danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor, by whom at the preſent all their Councils and Actions may be Eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he ſhould Succeed) they are Sure to be deſtroyed.

of the Common-wealth Party and the Diſſenters, hath more diſcouraged his Majeſties Allies abroad, and his true Loyal Subjects at home, Then either the Number of Popiſh Converts, the Plot, or the Fears or Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor.

WE have thus humbly layd before your Majeſty, ſome of thoſe great Dangers and Miſchiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor. The Certain and Unſpeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their Poſterity, if ſuch a Prince ſhould Inherit, are more alſo than we can well enumerate.

Our Religion, which is now ſo dangerouſly ſhaken will then be totally Overthrown; Nothing will be left, or can be found to protect or defend it.

No, may not the Providence of God, and the Number and Conſtancy of its Profeſſors defend and preſerve the beſt Religion in the World during the Reign of one Popiſh Prince, when Popery hath preſerved it Self under Four Princes together of our Religion?

*The Execution of all Old Laws muſt ceaſe, and it will be in vain to Expect New Ones. The moſt Sacred Obligations of Contracts and Promiſes (if any ſhould be given) that ſhall be judged to be againſt the Intereſt of the Romiſh Religion, * will be violated, as is undeniable, not onely from Argument and Experience elſewhere, but from the Sad Experience this Nation once had on the like occaſion.*

* This Violation is not neceſſary, no nor probable, conſidering the vaſt diſproportion betwixt the Papiſts and Proteſtants.

What shall the Pope be acknowledged as the King

In the Reign of such a Prince the Pope will be acknowledged Supream, (though the Subjects have Sworn the contrary) and all Causes either as Spiritual, or in order to Spiritual things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

now is Supream in all Causes, as well Temporal as Eccleſiaſtical? Can any man that will ſtick to his Oath, be forced to acknowledg this New minted Papal Supremacy, which never had any being but onely in St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, where the Pope is a Temporal Prince? Muſt all Caſes forthwith be drawn under his Juriſdiction? Then Wo be to *Weſtminſter*-Hall.

Had the Houſe any Prophets amongſt

The Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all ſuch Proteſtants, as value their Souls and their Religion more than their Secular Concernments, will be Adjudged forfeited.

them to fore-ſee this? If a Proteſtant Prince ſhould have a mind to play ſuch a Freake, it would not be poſſible to effect it; whence then ſhall the Popiſh one get ſo much more Power?

Who invited theſe Princes Aſſiſtance? Who uſed theſe Arguments? From whom

To all this we might Add; That it appears in the Diſcovery of the Plot, *That Foreign Princes were Invited to Aſſiſt in Securing the Crown to the Duke of* York; *with Arguments from his great Zeal to eſtabliſh Popery, and to Extirpate Proteſtants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and Such will expect performance Accordingly.*

is the performance to be Expected? In all the Diſcovery, I never ſee the Duke Himſelf Charged to have Done or Said any of theſe things; and if *Coleman* and the Jeſuits have Treated about them in his Name, but without his Order, from them onely the performance is to be Expected, who have no power; but if the Duke had promiſed theſe things himſelf, the impoſſibility of the thing will Excuſe him Sufficiently from the obligation of ſo wicked and fooliſh an Engagement.

We further humbly beseech Your Majesty in your Great Wisdom to Consider, Whether in Case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant Kingdom, should descend to the Duke of York; *the opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not onely Endanger the further descent in the Royal Line, But even Monarchy it self.*

It is not likely but that his Majesty did think of this before this *Address* had a being; and they should do well to Consider, That the Nature and Temper of the *English* Nation is Such, as Experience shewed us in the late Times, That an absolute Monarchy may be much more Easily Set up and Continued amongst us, than a *Common-Wealth*; and therefore it is as possible that in case of Such an Opposition, the Duke may prevail and become Absolute if he please, as that he should be Overcome; and it is much more probable that this Royal Line will finally prevail, if he do not, and obtain the Succession, then that an *Oliver Cromwell* will be able to Settle it in a New Family, whom all will Hate and Envy. And it ought also to be Considered, *France* may Strike in and Settle The Monarchy, Duke, Popery and Arbitrary Government, in case of opposition, which is not likely without it: Or it May be may endeavour to get the Crown for himself or his Brother. However, Rebellion and Civil War are as destructive as Popery, and therefore Never to be chosen.

For these Reasons we are most humble Petitioners to Your most sacred Majesty; That in Tender Commiseration of your Poor Protestant People, Your Majesty will be Graciously pleased to depart from the Reservation in your said Speech; and when a Bill shall be tendered to Your Majesty in a Parliamentary way, to Disable the Duke of York *from Inheriting the Crown, Your Majesty will give your Royal Assent thereto; and as Necessary to fortify and defend the same, That Your Majesty will likewise be Graciously pleased to Assent to an ACT, whereby Your Majesties Protestant*

I shall in the Conclusion shew his Majesty had much better Reasons in tender Commiseration to his Poor Protestant Subjects, to deny their Petition and stick to the Reservation, tho I believe he may grant their Bill when it be tender'd in a Parliamentary way. But as for the *Association*, I suppose His Majesty will desire to be Excused as long as

ever he is able to remember how the

Subjects may be enabled to Associate themselves for the defence of Your Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

Associated Counties and *London* defended His Fathers Person, and the Protestant Religion and Kingdom, and how difficult it will be to give him a Competent Security, That this Association against his Royal Brother, shall not be turned at one time or other, upon one pretence or other against himself, or his Government, (of which no care it seems is to be taken) Especially after Such a Menace to the Monarchy: which I believe may be Immortal, if it remains till such an Act of Parliament pass.

That is, come what will of *Tangier* and *Flanders*, the Peace of Christendome and the Power of *France*,

These Requests we are Constrained Humbly to make to Your Majesty as of absolute Necessity for the Safe and Peaceable enjoyment of Our Religion.

Without these things the Alliances of England *will not be Valuable, nor the People encouraged to Contribute to Your Majesties Service.*

till Your Majesty grant us these, we are resolved to concern our selves for Nothing. And when his Majesty hath granted them, and what follows, he need as little concern himself for the remainder.

And as some further Means for the preservation both of our Religion and PROPERTY, *we are Humble Suiters to Your Majesty, That from henceforth such Persons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *as are men of Ability, Integrity and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion, and that they may hold their Offices and Salaries* quam diu se bene gesserint. *That* (*several* Deputy Lieutenants, *and Justices of the Peace, fitly*

These two Paragraphs smell so strong of the 19 Propositions at *Uxbridge*, that I wonder more at them then all the rest of this *Address*; for tho they do not in terms ask the Nomination of all these Civil, Military and Naval Officers, yet that must be the Consequence of it; for if His Majesty be Judge of the Qualities of the Men which he im-

fitly qualified for thoſe Imployments, having been of late diſplaced, and others put in their room, Who are MEN of Arbitrary Principles and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery) *Such onely may bear the Office of a* Lord-Lieutenant *as are perſons of Integrity and Known Affection to the* Proteſtant Religion; *That Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo So qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country.*

That none may be imployed as Military Officers, or Officers in Your Majeſties Fleet, but Men of Known Experience, Courage and Affection to the Proteſtant Religion.

ployes, he may ſay they are at preſent all of them ſo qualified as they deſire, and then there is no Need of this Addreſs in that particular: or if on ſuch general terms they may be allowed to have theſe Changed, and His Majeſty ſhall conſent to it, they may Except in the ſame manner againſt any other men his Majeſty ſhall appoint, *ad infinitum*, till his Majeſty ſhall Nominate themſelves; or ſuch men as they ſhall pleaſe to Nominate and Appoint: and they that ſhall be ſo Nominated by the Commons, will without doubt pay their reſpects and obedience to them from whom they receive their preferment: and all others that hope to ſucceed them that are So appointed at firſt; will regard the profit ariſing from ſuch preferments, more than the glittering ſplendor of a Crown; and ſo his Majeſty being deprived of the dependance, and Conſequently of the defence of theſe Officers, ſhall be Expoſed Naked and Friendleſs to the Fury of thoſe *Reipublicans* that Murthered his Royal Father, and the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, to the Mercy of thoſe that have Sworn the Ruine of it: And finally, the Property and Liberty of the Subject ſhall be Expoſed to thoſe men who have given the World too good an Account already what Truſty Guardians of them they are; ever to be truſted with them again, till the Memory of the late Times ſhall periſh not onely as to the Memories of Men, but Books and Records. But yet after all this, the branding thoſe Gentlemen that were brought in (without the Leaſt Exception) to Supply the places of thoſe that were turned out of the Commiſſion of the Peace and Lieutenancy, with the odious Titles of **Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Favourers of Papiſts and Popery**, is in my poor Judgment Much worſe; and as it was impoſſible the Major part of the Houſe ſhould think ſo of them all, ſo I am fully perſwaded if Paſſion had not had too

great

great a dominion over them, they would Never have vented so Crude an Assertion in So August a place, in So Serious a Manner, to his Majesty and the whole World; they may be pleased to think of this again Now the heat perhaps is over: for as they have worded it, it can never be maintained; it being impossible to be known or proved, nor is any favourable Construction to be allowed to an Expression and Declaration so publickly and deliberately made by so many men, in so publick a Trust.

These our Humble Requests being obtained, we shall on our parts be ready to Assist Your Majesty for the preservation of Tangier, *and for putting your Majesties Fleet into Such a Condition as it may preserve your Majesties Soveraignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.*

If Your Majesty hath or shall make any Alliances for Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Interest and Security of this Kingdom, this House will be ready to Assist and Stand by your Majesty in the Support of the same.

AFTER this our Humble Answer to Your Majesties Gracious Speech, we hope no Evil *instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesties* Esteem *of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majesties Service; but that Your Majesty will always retain in your Royal Breast that Favourable Opinion of Us your Loyal Commons, that those other good Bills which we have now under Consideration, Conducing to the great Ends we have before Mentioned, as also all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which shall from time to time be tendred for Your Majesties Royal Assent*

Doubtless after all this fine Language and strong Reason, if any Evil Instrument, any man of Arbitrary Principles, or favourer of Papists or Popery, or finally if his Majesty or any Considerable part of the Nation, should thro humane infirmity happen to Suspect either your Prudence in delaying the Care of these Great Things to so long a day, or your Loyalty in making these demands of your Natural Soveraign; or your Charity and Candor in bestowing Commendations on your fellow Subjects his Majesties Of-

Aſſent; ſhall find acceptance with Your Majeſty.

ſicers at the rate you have done; I ſay, if any ſuch misfortune ſhould happen; you are not to Wonder much at it, for great Merits and great Virtues, great Attempts and Heroick Undertakings are Seldom well received at preſent, but Poſterity will Admire and Applaud them according to their Deſerts.

I will here inſert thoſe Reaſons I mentioned above againſt the Bill of Excluſion, which were delivered in the Houſe of Commons the Fourth day of *November* before this *Addreſs*, by a Great Perſon, a Member of that Houſe, Sir *L. J.* by which letters I underſtand Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

" *Sir*, I have ſpent much of my time in ſtudying " the Laws of this Land, and I pretend to know ſome- " thing of the Law of Foreign Countries, as Well as " of our own; and I have upon this occaſion well con- " ſidered of them, but cannot find how we can Juſtifie " the paſſing of this Bill, rather much againſt it.

" Firſt, I think it contrary to Natural Juſtice, that " We ſhould proceed to Condemnation not only before " Conviction, but before we have heard the Party, or " Examined any Witneſs about him, I am ſure none in " his defence. And to do this, by making a New Law " of purpoſe, when you have Old Laws in being that " have appointed a Puniſhment to his Crime, I humbly " conceive is very Severe, and contrary to the uſual " Proceedings of this Houſe, and the Birth-Right of " every Engliſh-man.

" Secondly, I think it is Contrary to the Principles " of Our Religion, that we ſhould diſpoſſeſs a man of " his Birth-Right, becauſe he differs (from us) in point of " Faith. For it is not agreed by all, that Dominion is

" founded

" founded in Grace. For my part, I think there is more " of Popery in this Bill, than there can poſſibly be in " the Nation without it; for none but *Papiſts* and " *Fifth-Monarchy-men* did ever go about to diſ-inherit " men for their Religion.

" Thirdly, I am of opinion that the Kings of *England* " have their Right from God alone, and that no Power " on Earth can deprive them of it. And I hope this " Houſe will not attempt to do any thing, which is ſo " preciſely contrary not only to the Law of God, but " the Law of the Land too. For if this Bill ſhould paſs, " it would Change the Eſſence of the Monarchy, and " Make the Crown *Elective*. For by the ſame reaſon " that this Parliament may diſ-inherit this Prince for " his Religion; other Parliaments may diſ-inherit an- " other, upon ſome other pretence which they may " Suggeſt, and ſo Conſequently by ſuch Excluſions elect " whom they pleaſe.

" Fourthly, It is againſt the Oath of Allegiance, taken " in its own ſenſe, without Jeſuitical Evaſions: For by " binding all perſons to the King, his Heirs and Succeſ- " ſors, the Duke as *Preſumptive Heir* muſt be under- " ſtood. And I am of opinion that it cannot be diſpen- " ſed withal. *Sir*, I will be very cautious how I diſpute " the Power of *Parliaments*. I know the *Legiſlative* is " very great, and it ought to be ſo: But yet I am of " opinion, That Parliaments cannot diſ-inherit the Heir " of the Crown, and that if ſuch an *ACT* ſhould paſs, " it would be invalid in it ſelf. And therefore I hope it " will not ſeem ſtrange, that I ſhould offer my Judgment " againſt this Bill, while it is in *Debate*, in which I think " I do that which is my Duty as a Member of this " Houſe.

" *Henry* the Fourth of *France* was a Proteſtant, his

" People

" People most Papists, who used some endeavours, to " prevent his coming to the Crown; but when they " found they were not likely to perfect their design " without occasioning a Civil War, they desisted, con- " cluding, that a Civil War would probably bring on " them more misery than a King of a different Religion, " and therefore Submitted. *Sir*, I hope we shall not " permit our Passions to Guide us instead of Reason, *&c.* Thus far that Great Person.

To these Reasons if we please to add this other, That it is so far from preventing our Calamities, that it will Ascertain them at his Majesties Death with the Addition of a Civil War, and in all likelyhood bring that upon us before that time; for so soon as ever the Bill pass, the Duke will have a Right to make a War upon *England* even in his Majesty's Life-time; and what may be the event of that, God onely Knows. However, to prevent Surprize, there must be *A Standing Army* or an *Association* Kept up as long as the Duke Lives; and what the Consequences of them are, may be foreseen without difficulty; the first Ruining the Liberties of the People, and the Second Endangering the Prerogatives of the Crown; and both of them in the divided Condition *England* now is, in point of Religion, tending to raise such Fears and Jealousies, as will be almost as Uneasie and as Unsafe as a Popish Successor; and all this brought upon us immediately; whereas the other is future and Contingent.

On *Thursday* the 23^d. of *December*,

The Commons *Ordered*, That the *Thanks of the House* should be given to Dr. *Burnett* for his Sermon Preached the day before, and likewise for his Book relating to the *History* of the Reformation of the Church of *England*; and that he be desired to Print his said Sermon. And

on *Thurſday* the 5*th* of *January* following, they Voted that he ſhould *be deſired to proceed with and Compleat that good Work by him begun, in Writing the Hiſtory of the* Reformation *of the Church of* England.

They *Ordered*, That Leave ſhould be given to bring in a Bill or Bills to *Correct and Puniſh Atheiſme, Blaſphemy, Swearing and Debauchery, and for the better Obſervation of the Lords Day.*

Theſe and ſeveral other Crimes have grown and prevailed upon this Nation for want of a Church Diſcipline, and by reaſon of the Diviſions amongſt us in Points of Religion; and till theſe things be taken care of, all Laws againſt them will ſignifie Nothing. Yet it might deliver the Government from the guilt of them, and therefore it is heartily to be wiſhed, that Care may be taken to perfect this good Deſign; and when further Care is taken of the Lords Day, ſome care would be taken of the other Feaſts and Faſts by Law Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England.*

This day alſo the Lords returned the *Additional Act* for Burying in Woollen, paſſed without Amendment.

And by another Meſſage Certified to the Commons, *That at their Riſing they would Adjourn to the Next* Munday *Seven-night after.*

And by another Meſſage they ſent down Mr. *Seymour's* Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment againſt him.

The ſame day the *Commons* alſo paſſed a Vote of an Extraordinary Nature, which was as followeth.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That Mr. Joſeph Brown *ought to be reſtored to all the Offices and Places which were taken from him, by occaſion of a Judgment given againſt him in the Court of* Kings-Bench *in* Trinity *Term* 29 Caroli Secundi, *upon an Information for*

for publiſhing an Unlicenſed Book, called, The Long Parliament Diſſolved.

Theſe Sorts of Writers were Now to be encouraged what might be, but what Benefit *Brown* had by this *Vote*, I never heard.

But the Next day being the 24*th* of *December*, they took occaſion to Chaſtiſe one *Richard Thompſon* Clerk, very *Severely*; for he having been Complained of by ſome of the Diſſenters who were Now the White Boys, and the Sober Loyal Proteſtants; and it having been remitted to a *Committee* to enquire into his Miſdemeanors, the Houſe upon the return of the *Committee*, paſſed theſe *Votes*.

Reſolved N. C. That Richard Thompſon *Clerk, has publickly defamed His Sacred Majeſty, Preached Sedition, Vilified the Reformation, Promoted Popery by Aſſerting Popiſh Principles, Decrying the Popiſh Plot, and turning the ſame upon the Proteſtants, and endeavoured to Subvert the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament; and that he is a Scandal and Reproach to his Function.*

Reſolved, That he be Impeached, and a Committee appointed to prepare the ſaid Impeachment, and that the Report and the Reſolution of the Houſe thereupon be forthwith Printed.

This *Thompſon* was accuſed for ſeveral Expreſſions both in Preaching and Diſcourſe: But they moſtly fixed upon a Sermon Preached the 30*th* of *January*, 1679. wherein he ſaid (it ſeems) the *Presbyterians* were ſuch perſons as the Devil Bluſht at. Accuſed *Hamden* for chooſing to Rebel rather than pay the *Ship-Money*; which he ſaid was the King's Right by Law. Accuſed Mr. *Calvin* to have been the firſt that Preached the *King-Killing* Doctrine: And from thence inferred, That a

See the Printed Papers.

Presbyterian *qua talis* is as great a *Traytor as any Prieſt or Jeſuit*: But one Witneſs ſaith he ſaid, *Worſe*. . And that he had alſo frequently caſt Evil Aſperſions againſt *Several Divines at* Briſtol *of Great Note*, viz. Mr. *Chetwind*, Mr. *Standfaſt*, Mr. *Croſsman*, and Mr. *Palmer* and others, ſaying, *That ſuch as went to their Lectures* were *the Brats of the Devil.*

2. That he had ſpoken in Sermons and elſewhere, ſeveral hard Things againſt the Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament; as, *That it was the Seed of Rebellion*, and like to 41. *&c.*

3. That he had ſaid, *There was great Noiſe of a Popiſh Plot, but there was Nothing in it but a Presbyterian Plot*, &c.

4. He was Accuſed to have approved of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, in the Points of *Juſtification, Auricular Confeſsion, Penance, Extream Unction*, and *Criſme*, in *Baptiſme*, and the *Single Life of the Clergy*; ſaying, *That if he were as well Satisfied of other things as he was of theſe, he would not have been ſo long Separated from the Catholick Church.*

5. He had ſpoken (as they ſaid) ſome ill things of Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Henry* the 8*th*, as *Church-Robbers*; and againſt his Majeſty too; which tho I care not to repeat, yet they are nothing in compariſon to what the Diſſenters have publiſhed in Print againſt his Majeſty.

What Anſwer the Man would have made for himſelf, I know not, for the Parliament never brought him to an hearing.

But upon inquiry, I find, notwithſtanding all this Clamour, the Man hath a great and good Report, for his Piety, Learning and Prudence; but his Zeal for the Religion Eſtabliſhed, drew this Storm upon him from the Exaſperated Diſſenters; who never ſtick thus to blaſt

the

the Fame of Good Men when it ſerves their ill deſigns.

But to return from this Digreſſion. The Bill for Exempting his Majeſties *Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of Certain Laws*, was read a ſecond time, and Committed upon a Debate of the Houſe to the *Committee* to whom the Bill for *Uniting* of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects was Committed upon a Debate of the Houſe.

Then the Bill for Baniſhing the Papiſts out of the King's Dominions, was read a ſecond time, and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe.

Then the Houſe adjourned till *Thurſday* the 30*th* of *December*.

That day the Houſe met and Ordered, That the Committee appointed to prepare Evidence againſt the 4. Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, ſhould look into the Evidence, and Report their Opinions to the Houſe in Order to the further Directions and Proceedings of the Houſe againſt them.

Reſolved, That the ſeveral Writings, Papers and Proceedings relating to ſuch Members of the late Long Parliament as received Allowances out of the Moneys appointed for Secret Services, be produced to this Houſe.

Reſolved N. C. That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown without Leave of the Houſe, or any Promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit during ſuch time as he ſhall continue a Member of the Houſe, and that the offenders herein ſhall be Expelled.

It ſeems they had diſcovered that ſome of their Zealous men were Selling themſelves to the Court-Party for Preferment, and prepared this *Vote* to keep the Party together.

Friday

Friday the 31*th* of *December.*

The Bill for prohibiting the importation of Forein Guns, was read the ſecond time and rejected.

Leave was alſo given to bring in a Bill for Regulating the abuſes in making Casks, Barrels, and other Veſſels. And

A Committee appointed to peruſe the Laws relating to *Weights and Meaſures*, and to report their Opinions in the ſame, and to bring in a Bill or Bills for the better Regulating and Aſcertaining the ſame.

Ordered alſo, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for a *General Naturalization of Alien-Proteſtants*, and allowing them liberty to Exerciſe their *Trades* in all Corporations.

A Bill for *Relief of the Subjects againſt Arbitrary Fines*, was read a ſecond time and committed.

Then the Houſe Adjourned till *Munday* the 3*d.* of *January.*

Which day *An Act for limiting the times of Importation of Cattel from Scotland*, being read the third time, paſſed, and was ſent up to the Lords. Then

A Bill for *Repealing an Act made in the* 13*th Year of his Now Majeſties Reign*, intituled, *An ACT for the Well-Governing and Regulating of Corporations*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered to be read again.

A Bill for the better diſcovery of *Settlements to Superſtitious Uſes*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading the *Friday* following at Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a Bill to the Commons, Intituled, *An Act for diſtinguiſhing Proteſtant Diſſenters from Popiſh Recuſants.* To which they deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe.

The Lords ſent down another Meſſage, to put the Commors

Commons in mind of the Bill for the *Better regulating of the Tryals of the Peers of* England.

And Another Meſſage to acquaint them, *That their Lordſhips had received a Petition from Mr.* Seymour, *for a ſpeedy Tryal.* Upon which the Commons read his *Anſwer* to their *Impeachment*, which had lyen by them ſome time; and ordered a Committee to prepare Evidence againſt him, and Manage it at his Tryal.

On *Tueſday* the *4th* of *January.*

His Majeſty ſent the Commons another Meſſage, which is as followeth.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS Majeſty received the Addreſs *of this Houſe with all the diſpoſition they could wiſh, to comply with their reaſonable deſires; but upon peruſing it, he is Sorry to See their Thoughts ſo wholly fixed upon the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the Suppreſsing of Popery will be ineffectual; His Majeſty is Confirmed in his Opinion againſt that Bill by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains Nothing more for him to ſay in anſwer to the* Addreſs *of this Houſe, but to recommend to them the Conſideration of all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, in which they have no reaſon to doubt of his Concurrence, when ever they ſhall be preſented to him in a Parliamentary way; and that they would Conſider the preſent State of the*

King-

Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Chriſtendom, in Such a Manner as may inable him to Preſerve Tangier, *and Secure his Alliances abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at home.*

This Meſſage being read in the Houſe, they Reſolved to take into Conſideration the *Friday* following in a full Houſe.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a *Vote* which they made that day.

Die Martis 4 *January*, 1680.

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully Satisfied, that there now is, and for divers years laſt paſt there hath been, a Horrid and Treaſonable Plot and Conſpiracy contrived and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in Ireland, *for Maſſacring the* Engliſh, *and Subverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the ancient Eſtabliſhed Government of that Kingdom*; To which their Lordſhips deſired the Concurrence of the Commons.

On *Wedneſday* the 5*th* of *January*.

Richard Thompſon was Ordered upon his Petition to give ſufficient Security for his forth-coming to the Serjeant at Arms attending that Houſe, to Anſwer to the Impeachment againſt him; and ſo was diſcharged of his Impriſonment.

I can ſee No reaſon why he ſhould be proſecuted by an Impeachment in Parliament. It being beneath the Dignity of the Houſes to Concern themſelves with ſuch a man as Mr. *Thompſon* muſt needs be, who might much better have been proceeded againſt in the Spiritual

tual or Civil Courts, (if the Accuſations were all True;) but that his Blaſpheming *Calvin* and the Loyal Presbyterian Proteſtants, would have ſignified Nothing there; as I believe they would not before the Lords, if he had been Tryed.

Formerly the Commons impeached none but ſuch as were too great to be proſecuted any where elſe; and that but rarely, and upon great Neceſſity: This made them Venerable and Dreadful; but this Courſe for Small or No faults to impeach and impriſon great Numbers of Mean People which they followed in this Seſſion, tended to Nothing but the Waſting their time: and Hindering greater Affairs to the damage of the King and Kingdome.

The ſame day the Commons agreed an Impeachment againſt Sir *William Scroggs* Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Kings-Bench*; and Ordered others to be drawn againſt Sir *Francis North* Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Juſtices of the *Kings-Bench*, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. So they were reſolved to find themſelves work, tho they had refuſed to do the King's Buſineſs till that was granted, which was impoſſible to be had this Seſsion of Parliament.

Thurſday, the *6th* of *January*, A Bill for the more Eaſie Collecting the Duty of Hearth-Money was read a ſecond time and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe,

A Bill for Repealing the *Act* for the *Well-Governing of Corporations*, was read the ſecond time and committed.

Sir *Philip Skippon* was Excuſed from being taken into Cuſtody for his Default in not attending the Houſe in the Call there of the *Tueſday* before.

Colonel *Birch* reporting from the Committee appointed to receive Informations relating to the *Popiſh Plott* in *Ireland*, *That the Committee, having proceeded upon the Matters to them referred, had taken ſeveral Examinations, and received the Anſwer of Sir* John Davis, *and had alſo peruſed ſeveral Informations tranſmitted from the Houſe of Lords relating to the ſaid Plott.* All which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered the ſame in at the Clerks Table, where the ſame were again read.

The Houſe then took into Conſideration the Meſſage ſent from the Lords the *Tueſday* before, wherein they deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe, and Reſolved,

That the Houſe did agree with the Lords, with the addition of theſe Words, That the Duke of York *being a Papiſt, and the Expectation of his coming to the Crown, hath given the Greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the Horrid Popiſh Plot in this Kingdome of* England.

And they reſolved to deliver the ſaid *Vote* to the Lords at a Conference, and Appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons to be offered at the ſaid Conference.

Ordered, That the ſeveral Informations of John Macnamara, Maurice Fitz-Gerrald, *and* James Maſh, *that day read to the Houſe, relating to the* Iriſh *Plot, be forthwith Printed.*

Reſolved, That Rich. Poure *Earl of* Tyrone *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *be Impeached of High Treaſon; And that the Lord* Durſley *do go up to the Bar of the Lords and Impeach him, &c. and pray that he may be Committed to Safe Cuſtody.*

And further *Ordered, That the Committee appointed to prepare the Evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords in the* Tower, *do prepare the ſaid Impeachment.*

Ordered, That the further Conſideration of the ſaid Re-

port

port in relation to Arthur *Earl of* Angleſey *and Sir* John Davis, *be Adjourned to* Saturday *Morning next at Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.*

When it was Adjourned to *Munday* following, which was their laſt day, and gave them occaſion for other Thoughts.

On *Friday* the *7th* day of *January.*

The ingroſſed Articles of Impeachment againſt Sir *William Scroggs* were Read, and ſent up to the Lords by the Lord *Cavendiſh.*

A Bill to prevent *Vexatious Actions*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

A Bill to prevent the Symony of one perſon from prejudicing another, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

The Bill of Diſcovery of Settlements of Eſtates for Superſtitious Uſes, was read the ſecond time and committed upon the debate of the Houſe.

Then the Houſe according to their Order, entred into Conſideration of his Majeſty's Meſſage ſent to the Houſe the *Tueſday* before; and *Voted* as followeth.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That there is no Security or Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or the Well Conſtituted and Eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling James *Duke of* York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means or remedies, without ſuch a Bill, is not onely Inſufficient but dangerous.*

Reſolved, That his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage having aſſured this Houſe of his readineſs to Concur in all other means for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That until a Bill be likewiſe paſſed

for Excluding the Duke of York, *this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſties Perſon, Extream Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to Thoſe by whom this Houſe is truſted.*

It ſeems the loſs of *Tangier* and of all our Alliances abroad, did not at all Hazard the Proteſtant Religion, or Endanger his Majeſties Perſon.

Reſolved, That all Perſons who Adviſed his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, *Have given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and* Are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdome.

Reſolved, That George *Earl of* Halifax, Henry *Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *Henry Earl of* Clarendon, *in the Opinion of this Houſe are perſons who Adviſed his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of* York, *and have therein given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.*

Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove Lawrence Hide *Eſq: from his Majeſties Councils and Preſence, and from his Office in the Treaſury for ever.*

Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove Henry *Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *from his Preſence and Councils, and all the Offices and Imployments of Honour and Profit, for ever.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That Lewis *Earl of* Feverſham *is a Promoter of Popery and of the* French *Intereſt, and a* Dangerous *Enemy to the King and Kingdom. Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to remove him from all Military Of-*

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fices and Commands, and from all other Publick Offices and Imployments, and from his Majeſties Councils and Preſence for ever.

But here was no Addreſſes Voted againſt *George* Earl of *Halyfax*, nor *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon.*

A Motion being made alſo for an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, to remove *Edward Seymour* Eſq; from his Majeſties Council and Preſence; it was Adjourned to the *Munday* following.

Having taken all this care to Chaſtiſe the Great Men, who as they believed had oppoſed them in this great buſineſs; in the Next place they undertook to Chaſtiſe his Majeſty Himſelf, and if their deſign had taken effect, as it is to be hoped it Never will, his Majeſty and all his Succeſſors ſhould have Known what it is to Anger a Houſe of Commons. However they meant well; for they

Reſolved, That whoever ſhould hereafter *Lend or cauſe to be lent by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe or Hearth-Money*, (that is, all the principal Branches) *ſhall be Adjudged to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.*

Reſolved, That whoever ſhall accept or buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any part of the King's Revenue; or whoſoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the Sittings of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſable therefore in Parliament.

Firſt they Reſolve they would give nothing themſelves, and then they terrify all others as much as in them lyeth from *Lending or Advancing* any Money to him; which was not according to their Writ of Election to Adviſe his Majeſty, but by dureſs to force and compel him to Submit to their better Judgment as became Loyal and Dutiful Subjects.

So

So that his Majeſty might well ſay of theſe *Votes*, That inſtead of giving him aſsiſtance to Support his Allies, or enabling him to Preſerve *Tangier*, they tended rather to diſable him from contributing towards either, by his own *Revenue* or *Credit*, not only expoſing him to all Dangers that might happen either at home or abroad; but endeavouring to deprive him of the poſſibility of Supporting the Government it Self, and to reduce him to a more helpleſs condition than the meaneſt of his Subjects. A *Sad* and a very *Juſt Complaint*, and Accordingly reſented by that vaſt Number of People that have ſince *Addreſsed* to thank his Majeſty for that *Declaration*.

On *Saturday* the 8*th* of *January*.

The Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons to acquaint them that their Lordſhips had appointed that day Sevennight for hearing the Cauſe upon the Impeachment of Mr. *Seymour*, and that their Houſe might reply if they thought fit, but they had no leiſure to take notice of it.

Information being given to the Houſe by the Serjeant at Arms that Sir *John Lloyd*, Sir *Edward Philips*, *Herbert Herring*, *Miles Baspole*, *Iles*, and *Arthur Teomans*, who for divers great Miſdemeanors by them committed (as was pretended) againſt the Priviledge of their Houſe, were Ordered to be taken in Cuſtody of the ſaid *Serjeant*, did Abſcond themſelves, that the ſaid Order could not be put in Execution againſt them; hereupon they

Ordered, That an Humble Application ſhould be made to his Majeſty from their Houſe, by Such Members thereof as were of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council; deſiring his Majeſty to Iſſue out his Royal Proclamation for the Apprehending the ſaid ſeveral perſons, in caſe they ſhould

ſhould not render themſelves to the Serjeant by a certain day therein to be limited.

The ſame day they *Ordered*, That a *Committee* ſhould be Appointed to inſpect the Journals of their Houſe, and of the Houſe of Lords, and *Precedents*, to Juſtify and Maintain, *That the Lords ought to Commit Perſons to Safe Cuſtody when Impeached for High Treaſon by the Commons in Parliament, and to make report thereof to the Houſe.* Which *Vote* had relation to Sir *William Scroggs*.

And ſo we are come to the day that finally put an End to all their Proceedings, which was *Munday* the 10*th* day of *January*; and a great Wonder it was that his Majeſty could endure them ſo long.

They began the day with a *Vote*, which ſhews the Meaning and Tendance of all the reſt.

Reſolved, That whoſoever Adviſed his Majeſty to Prorogue this Parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing of a Bill for the Excluſion of James *Duke of* York, *is a betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England, *A Promoter of the* French *Intereſt, and a Penſioner to* France.

They Knew then that they were to be Prorogued, but they Knew not by whoſe Advice; and ſo if his Majeſty did it without any Advice, then all theſe Hard words were thrown at him: but by whomſoever it were done, this *Vote* could have no good meaning or effect, and muſt end in Smoke or Tumults; and Confuſion.

2. *Reſolved, That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to the City of* London *for their Manifeſt Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge and Vigilancy for the Preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Religion.*

Ordered, That the Members that Serve for the City of London, *do accordingly give them the Thanks of the Houſe.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the City

City of London *was Burnt in the Year* 1666, *by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to Introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into the Kingdom.*

Reſolved, That the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtomes and other Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe, have Wilfully broken the Law prohibiting the Importation of French *Wines, and other Commodities; and that if they ſhall hereafter Wilfully or Negligently break that Law; they ſhall be queſtioned therefore in Parliament.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That James *Duke of* Monmouth *hath been removed from his Offices and Commands by the Influence of the Duke of* York.

Ordered, That an humble Application be made to his Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof as are of his Majeſties Honourable Privy-Council, to deſire his Majeſty to reſtore the ſaid James *Duke of* Monmouth, *to his ſaid Offices and Commands.*

This was excellently timed, and they had ſo obliged his Majeſty, they might be ſure he would not deny them.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time Grievous to the Subject, a weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and incouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.

Here their Mouths were ſtopt by a Meſſage from the King, by *Edward Carteret* Uſher of the *Black-Rod*, Acquainting them that the King Commanded them to Attend him immediately in the Houſe of Peers. And there his Majeſty Prorogued them to the *Thurſday* Sevennight, being the 20*th* of that Inſtant *January*, 1680.

1. His Majeſty gave his Royal Aſſent to the *Act* Prohiting the Importation of Cattle from *Ireland.*

2. To the *Act for Supplying the late Act for Burying in Woollen.*

3. And

3. And to an *Act To rectifie Errors in Sir* Charles Houghton's *Settlement.*

There was another *Act* for Repeal of the *Act* of the 35 of *Elizabeth* ready to be passed, and it was Lost No body knew how, and was never tendred to his Majesty.

Soon after this Parliament was Dissolved by Proclamation, to the great Satisfaction of all but the *Dissenters*, who (if they had been able to consider things Aright) had as little reason to be pleased with their Proceedings as any of the rest; for they did them no other Service then to Exasperate the King and the Government against them, and have made them to be more prosecuted and less pitied than they were before.

The Popish Party received almost as little damage by them as the *Dissenters* did Advantage; for they bending their force Equally against the *Succession* and *Popery*, all their *Designs* (if they had any beyond clamour) against the *Papists* were broken.

Their Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings against the *Abhorrers* of the *Tumultuous Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament*, procured more Friends to the Duke of *York*, then perhaps he would otherwise have had, and gave the *English* Gentry an Excellent Prospect what they might Expect from these *Warm Gentlemen* if ever they fell into their hands.

The King had a fair Warning also to look to Himself, and the *Religion by Law Established*, when he saw with how little Reverence these *Protestants at Large* treated him, while his *Prerogatives* were intire, and wholly in his Own Hands; and had he but yielded to them in the Point of the *Duke* of *York*, they would Soon have taught him, how little was to be gotten by Complying with men of their temper.

The only Service they did was to the *French* King; for our Allies beyond Seas seeing that No Assistance was to be Expected from *England*, Surrendred their strongest Towns

to him for the Asking, and so suffered the worst effects of War in Peace.

The City of *London* Lost the hopes of having any more Parliaments amongst them till Times be better and more Settled, by their grateful Applications to them for their Loyalty and Care of the *Protestant Religion at Large.*

The Trade of a Considerable part of the Nation is ruined, not for want of Laws, but by too many, which have restrained that intercourse and freedom that ought to be betwixt Us and our Neighbour Nations: yet I cannot say that this Parliament would have relieved the Nation in that point if they had Continued Longer, when it is considered with what care and industry the *Act* for the prohibition of *Irish* Cattel was carried against all opposition, tho it is damageable to a very considerable part of the Nation, if not to the whole; and had these Gentlemen been equally concerned for the Suppressing of Popery, as they were for this *ACT*; Some of those Bills at least, that were sent down from the Lords, or began by the Commons, might have been ready as well as this for the Royal Assent.

Yet they had some very good Bills relating to Trade under consideration, but they were not so Zealous in that Concern as they ought to have been: but rather seemed to fear the State of the People on that account should be made too easie before they had obtained their other Ends of his Majesty and the Government,

Of this their *Vote* about the *Act* for prohibition of the *French* Trade may be an instance; for however that *Act* might be of great use, if the *Dutch* would consent to prohibit all Trade with them as well as We: yet as Long as they go on to Trade with them, and we do not, it onely tends to impoverish the King and Us; and Inrich them; and therefore ought to have been left at liberty till they and we can mutually agree to stop it.

Nor

Nor did the *Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed*, fare any better, for that being equally oppoſed by the *Diſſenters* on one hand, and the *Papiſts* on the other, under pretence of Uniting us againſt the latter, the former were encouraged by their Votes and Bills to endeavour her ruine.

The Bill for Uniting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, is a perfect Toleration of almoſt all other Religions which are or ſhall be amongſt us, except Popery; and had it, and the other Bill for Exempting them from the Penalties of the Laws made agãinſt the Popiſh Recuſants paſſed, it would not have been poſſible to have Executed them or any other againſt the Papiſts. For it cannot be imagined that the Papiſts could not have been able to have got themſelves Liſted amongſt ſome of our Diſſenters or other, and then upon making the Declaration, and producing two Perſons as Witneſs, that they believed them to be Proteſtant Diſſenters, they would have had the liberty to have inflamed both thoſe Diſſenters that were Comprehended, and thoſe that were Tolerated againſt the entire Conformiſts, and theſe again againſt them. And ſo both Popery ſhould have gone unpuniſhed, and the Feuds amongſt our ſelves would have grown to that height, that nothing but a ſtanding Army would have been able to have kept us in any tolerable quiet.

If the Miniſters of the Church of *England* had been part of them entire Conformiſts, and part of them Presbyterians, thoſe that were of the firſt ſort, would have kept up the Religion Eſtabliſhed as high or higher then now, and the other Party muſt have laid aſide totally the uſe of the Common-Prayer as well as the Surplice, Croſs, and Kneeling at the Lords Supper, or elſe their whole Party which now follow them, would have all left them, and ſo another Faction would have riſen in the Church of Semi-Conformiſts, and all thoſe that are without the

Church would have continued, as now they are, under other Teachers, only more insolent, and more turbulent; and so instead of uniting us against the Papists and Popery, which is the pretended cause of the *Act*, we should have been more divided and Animated against each other then now we are.

It was one of the Rules prescribed by that Bill, *That no person should be admitted to take the Declaration, who refused the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy when tendred unto him.* Now this would have left all the Quakers, Anabaptists, and several other Sects in the same state of Persecution (as they call it) as they now are; and great Numbers of the Other Sects too, when they had considered of it, would have Scrupled it, as well as they in *Scotland* have done: and so those that were totally Excluded, would have been enraged against those that had been tolerated, as having betrayed them first, and then left them to the *Severity* of the *Law*, and by that time all these Parties, *viz.* the *Rigid Conformists*. 2. *Semi-Conformists*. 3. *Tolerated*, and *Non-Tolerated Protestants*, all enraged against each other, had for some time been fermented by the *Jesuits* and *Popish* Party, a man may guess what kind of *Union* there would have been amongst *Protestants* in *England*.

And when they had gained all this, what Security could have been given that they would have rested here? that *Act* which one Parliament makes, another may Repeal: and they would never have been Secure of Keeping what they had gained, but by taking care to fill the House of Commons in every Parliament with the most Factious men they could pick out; and they could never have maintained their reputation with the Party, but by pushing things forward, and so every Sessions something more must have been granted for the better Security of the Union, and removing of Fears and Jealousies, till at last we had been brought to the same state of Confusion his Majesty found us in at his Return.

That a considerable number of these *Dissenters* are as much against

againſt Monarchy as Conformity, is Apparent by their Books, diſcourſes, and former practice. Now what Security ſhould his Majeſty have had, that when this Party had by impunity and time been ſtrong enough to have dealt with the Loyal Party, they would not have endeavoured to be diſpenſed with from obeying him or any other King but *Chriſt Jeſus*? and then Nothing could have united Proteſtants and Secured us againſt *Popery*, but the Laying aſide the Kingly Government, and the Setting up a Common-wealth; and of this they have already given ſome Notable hints in their Pamphlets: and when they are told the Excluſion of the Duke of *York* will onely Secure them once from a Popiſh Prince, and make them that follow more Cautious how they diſcover themſelves too ſoon; and that if any Actual King of *England* ſhould turn Papiſt, which is as poſſible and more probable then that another Heir ſhould do it, they would then be in the ſame ſtate as if the Duke Succeeded: They conſtantly reply, *That it is unreaſonable it ſhould be in the power of one man to reduce us to Popery*; that is, It is not reaſonable that Kingly Government ſhould be any Longer Continued amongſt us.

From all which I conclude, That the project of Uniting Proteſtants by remitting the Laws againſt the Diſſenters, is impoſsible; and that theſe Conſequences being Obvious and Apparent before-hand; there could be no other deſign in the Attempt but the ruine of the Monarchy, and the introducing Confuſion, and War amongſt us; at leaſt theſe would certainly have followed.

So that the day a *Toleration*, or which is all one, an *Union* amongſt Proteſtants upon the terms propounded, is ſettled, the Monarchy muſt be made Abſolute, or it will not Stand: And Proviſion muſt be made to maintain a Standing Army bigg enough eo *Keep all Parties Quiet*, how much ſoever they are averſe to it, or our *Peace* at home will not be Maintained.

And

And as to all Foreign affairs, *England* muſt look on, and ſuffer all things to go as they will; for Neither King nor Common-Wealth will be in a Condition to do any thing abroad in that unſettled ſtate things will be at home; and by that time *England* comes to ſettle, *France* (if God interpoſe not by Miracles) will have brought under So many of its Neighbours, that *England* will be able to make no effectual reſiſtance if it ſhould be attacked by that Potent Kingdom.

Concluſion.

My deareſt Countrymen, I humbly begg you would be pleaſed to reflect Seriouſly upon this in time, if it be not Now too late, and Unite heartily with His Majeſty our moſt Gracious and Sweet-Natured Soveraign, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed, and not ſuffer your ſelves to be led by pretended Fears into real and unavoidable Slavery and Confuſion; attended with all the Miſeries of War, and which (as much as Man can foreſee) muſt end in *Popery* and a *French* Conqueſt of us.

I have laid the Matter plainly before you, not Knowing what may follow as to my Self; but this I am ſure of, that Advantage I can have none by it. I am a private perſon, and I Expect ſo to live and die. I have no aim at any Publick Imployment or Place of Truſt, nor any means to attain it if I had: I am Contented with the State God hath Set me In. And the Utmoſt I wiſh for is; to Leave things to my Poſterity as they ought Now to be, if the Laws had their due Effects; and therefore I am compelled by Nothing but my Zealous affection for my Country, which (next God and my own Soul) I love above all things, to run the hazard of giving you this Advice, and thereby drawing upon me the Malice and Revenge of all thoſe that ſeek to Ruine and Enſlave You.

As to thoſe *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, who may poſſibly take offence at What I have written, (for all I am

ſure

ſure will not) I deſire they would in cool blood Conſider what they have done, and then let them think of Me what they pleaſe: For if ever Faction, Anger, and ill deſigns were entertained by ſo great a Body of Men as the Major part of this Houſe was, it is Apparent they were here. And I will inſtance in but a few Particulars, tho I might in more.

Can any mortal man produce either Precedent or Law to Juſtifie the Impriſonment of the *Gentlemen* called the *Abhorrers*? Have the meaneſt people of *England* a right to Petition the King againſt his Expreſs Command, in a thing of which he is the Sole Judge, by all our Laws; and that by Multitudes of Hands procured by men that have no authority for that purpoſe; and may not Grand-Juries, Juſtices of the Peace, and other ſuch like perſons oppoſe them, or which is leſs, diſown it? But ſuppoſe they did more than they ought, was it fit to impriſon them before they were allowed to defend themſelves? *Gentlemen*, it ſerved your turn now, but it may one day be turn'd againſt you, and then conſider how you will take it. The Corporations do Now moſt of them ſend *Gentlemen*, but they may when they pleaſe lay You by; and ſend Mechanicks, Trades-men, Shop-Keepers, How would your high ſpirits brook it to be ſent for in Cuſtody, and made to Kneel (without being Suffered to Speak, and onely for doing your duties) to ſuch men, and ſo be ſent home again? I am ſure no *Engliſh* Gentleman can brook this indignity but with ſuch inward Reſentments as befit the Generoſity and Temper of that Nation, or otherwiſe I muſt think we are prepared for Slavery; and all that Manly Courage that hath made our People Renowned in all Countries in the World, is degenerated into the Moſt Shameful Effeminacy and Cowardiſe. Onely in this caſe Religion and Loyalty made them yield; even to Injuſtice and Oppreſsion. As long as his Sacred Majeſty thought fit to Suffer it, they Submitted, but with ſuch Thoughts as would have taught you more Juſtice and Moderation, if this had not been in the caſe. Your

Your ſtyling all thoſe *Gentlemen* that had been brought in to the Commiſsion of the Peace in the room of ſome others diſplaced, *MEN of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery*; and if you could have invented more Odious Names and Words than theſe, you might with as much truth and ingenuity have beſtowed them upon them. Was it fairly done, or was it not? Is it one of the Priviledges of your Houſe to *Vote Me a Jew or a Turk*, or that I was one of thoſe men that occaſioned the Breach betwixt *Charles* the Firſt and his Parliament? If it be, then I will ſay no more, but that I begg your Pardon; and Kneel down at the Bar of a *Houſe of Commons* with the ſame Submiſsion, as if I believed the *Speaker* Infallible, and every Member an Angel. But if your *Votes* ought to be not only Conſonant to Law, but agreeable to the truth of things, then that Paſſage was haſtily and paſsionately written, and not well Conſidered; and care ought to be taken for the future to *Write* more Cautiouſly, and *Speak* and *Vote* like Men that had a little reſpect to your Places.

Your *Votes* of the *7th* of *January* 1680. concerning his Majeſties Revenues and borrowing of Money upon them, are they juſtifiable or no? may I not lend the King 100*l.* if I pleaſe without your leave, and not incur the danger of being reputed an Enemy to the Sitting of Parliaments? Suppoſe the *French* ſhould Land in *England* or *Ireland*, or the Papiſts or Diſſenters riſe, and the King Want Money to ſuppreſs the one, or drive out the other, muſt we hazard his and our Ruine, rather then ſupply him by a Lone in the Intervals of Parliament, have we a Property in what is our own, and may we not uſe it as we ſee cauſe, without breach of Priviledge of Parliament?

Your *Vote* of the 10*th* of *January*, *That the Proſecution of the Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, was at that time Grievous to the Subject, a Weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt,*

an

an Incouragement to Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom; is as little understood as any of the rest. Why was it made? To what Subject is it Grievous? To the Dissenters? Why then let them leave their Dissenting to the Church of *England* and all will be well. What Protestant Interest doth it weaken, for there are more Protestant Interests then one in the Nation? doth it weaken that Protestant Interest which is Settled by Law? Then say so. But how it doth encourage *Popery*, or endanger the *Peace of the Nation*, is yet Harder to be understood: but Suppose it did; what then? You may repeal the Laws, and Bills you had afoot, that would have Repealed them if they would have passed; but you were to be adjourned, and had not time to finish them: And did you think to have laid them asleep by your *Single Vote*, without the Consent of the Lords or the King? You should have done well then to have told the Nation that you have the whole Legislative Power in your hands, and that it is Contrary to Law for any man to Act against a *Vote* of the House of Commons, tho in Obedience to an Act of Parliament.

But that I may not seem to set up my own Single Judgment against a *Whole House of Commons*, I will insert an Authority or two Equal to them, in better Times tho they be Long. The first of which shall be an *Address* of the *House of Commons* the 28. of *Febr.* 1663.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

WE Your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons in Parliament Assembled, having with all Fidelity and Obedience Considered of the Several Matters Comprised in Your Majesties late Gracious Declaration of the 26. of Decemb. Last, and your most Gracious Speech at the beginning of this present Session.

Do in the first place for our Selves, and in the Names of all the Commons of England, *render to your most Sacred Majesty, the Tribute of our most hearty Thanks for all that infinite Grace and Goodness wherewith Your Majesty hath been pleased to publish your Royal Intentions of adhering to your* Act *of* Indemnity *and* Oblivion, *by your Constant and Religious observance of it. And our Hearts are further enlarged in these returns of Thanksgivings, when we Consider Your Majesties most Princely and Heroick Professions of relying upon the Affections of your People, and Abhorring all Sort of* Military and Arbitrary Rule. *But above all, we can never* enough remember, *to the Honour of Your Majesties Piety, and our own unspeakable Comfort, those Solemn, and most endearing Invitations of us Your Majesties Subjects, to prepare Laws to be presented to Your Majesty, against the Growth and encrease of Popery; and withal to provide more Laws against Licentiousness and Impiety, at the same time declaring Your Own Resolutions for Maintaining the* **Act of Uniformity.** *And it becomes us always to acknowledg and Admire Your Majesties Wisdom in this your Declaration, whereby Your Majesty is pleased to resolve not onely by Sumptuary Laws, but by your Own Royal Example of Frugality, to restrain that Excess in mens Expences, which is grown so general and so exorbitant, and to direct our endeavours to find out fit Laws for Advancement of Trade and Commerce,*

After all this, We humbly beseech Your Majesty to believe, that it is with Extream Unwillingness and Reluctancy of Heart that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majesty hath thought fit to propose. And though we do no way doubt but that the unreasonable distempers of Mens Spirits, and the Many **Mutinies** *and* **Conspiracies** *which were carried on during the late Interval of Parliaments, did reasonably incline Your Majesty* * *to ill humours, till the Parliament assembled, and the hopes of an Indulgence, if the Parliament should Consent to it; Especially seeing the pretenders to this Indulgence did seem to make*

some

* I suppose here is a word wanting. rather a Cause.

ſome title to it by virtue of Your Majeſties Declaration *from* Breda. *Neverthleſs your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, who are Now returned to Serve in Parliament from thoſe Several Parts and Places of Your Kingdom for which we were Choſen, do humbly offer to Your Majeſties Great Wiſdom, That it is in No Sort Adviſeable, that there be any Indulgence to ſuch perſons who preſume to diſſent from the* Act *of* Uniformity and Religion Eſtabliſhed, *for theſe Reaſons.*

We have Conſidered the Nature of Your Majeſties Declaration from Breda, *and are Humbly of Opinion that Your Majeſty ought not to be preſſed with it any further.*

Becauſe it is not a Promiſe in it Self, but onely a Gracious declaration of Your Majeſties Intentions to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament ſhould Adviſe Your Majeſty to do; and No ſuch Advice was ever given or thought fit to be offered, nor could it be otherwiſe Underſtood, becauſe there were Lawes of Uniformity then in being, **Which Could not be diſpenſed with but by Act of Parliament.** *They who do pretend a right to that Suppoſed Promiſe, put their right into the Hands of their* Repreſentatives *whom they choſe to Serve for them in this Parliament, who have paſſed, and your Majeſty Conſented to the ACT of Uniformity. If any ſhall preſume to Say, That a right to the benefit of this* Declaration *doth ſtill remain after this Act paſſed; it tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Government, and to Suppoſe a diſability in Your Majeſty, and your Houſes of Parliament to make a Law contrary to any part of your Majeſties Declaration, though both Houſes ſhould Adviſe Your Majeſty to it.* *Note this.*

We have alſo Conſidered the Nature of the Indulgence propoſed, with reference to thoſe Conſequences which muſt Neceſſarily attend it.

It will Eſtabliſh *Schiſm by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church* precarious, *and the Cenſures of it of No Moment or Conſideration at all.*

It will no way become the Gravity or Wisdom of a Parliament, to pass a Law at One Session for Uniformity, and at the Next Session, the reason for Uniformity Continuing still the same, to pass another Law to frustrate or Weaken the Execution of it.

It will Expose Your Majesty to the restless Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every single person also, that shall presume to dissent from the Church of **England.**

It will be a cause of increasing Sects and Sectaries, whose Numbers will weaken the true Protestant profession so far, that it will at last become difficult for it to defend it self against them. And which is yet further Considerable, those Numbers which by being troublesom to the Government, find they can Arrive to an Indulgence, will, as their Numbers increase, be yet more troublesome, so at length they may arrive to a general **Toleration,** *which Your Majesty hath declared against, and in time, some prevalent Sect will at last Contend for an Establishment, which for ought can be foreseen, may end in* **Popery.**

It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recusants, *and be inconsistent with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of* England.

Lastly, it is humbly Conceived, That the Indulgence *proposed will be so far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occasion great disturbance.*

And on the Contrary, That the Asserting of the Laws and the Religion Established according to the Act *of* Uniformity, *is the most probable Means to produce a Settled Peace and Obedience through the Kingdom; because the Variety of Professions in Religion, when Openly indulged, doth directly distinguish men into Parties, and withal gives them Opportunities to count their Numbers, which considering the Animosities that out of a religious Pride will be kept on foot by the several Factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open disturbance: Nor can Your Majesty have any Security, that the Doctrine or Worship of the Several Factions, which are all governed by a Several Rule, shall be consistent with the Peace of the Kingdom.*

And

And if any perſon ſhall preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all humility declare, That we will for ever, and upon all occaſions be ready with our Utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance, to Adhere to, and Serve Your Majeſty according to our bounden Duty and Allegiance.

The Reaſon and Loyalty of this *Addreſs* prevailed with his Majeſty at that time, to lay aſide all his Thoughts of an *Indulgence*; and well had it been for him and us, if he had never reaſſumed them: for from his forſaking this Advice in the Year 1671. Sprung all thoſe Miſeries that now ſo much threaten him and us. But tho his Majeſty Changed, the *Parliament* kept their grounds; for in an *Addreſs* dated the 14*th* of *Feb.* 1672. they aſſert againſt *His Majeſties Declaration of Indulgence* dated the 15*th* of *March* before, *That* **Penal Statutes** *in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament. We therefore* (ſay they) *the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That the ſaid Laws may have their Free Courſe, until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided by Act of Parliament; and that Your Majeſty would Graciouſly be pleaſed to give ſuch Directions herein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of Your Majeſties good and faithful Subjects.*

The King not being Satisfied with this, but ſtill inſiſting that he had a Right by his Supremacy to Suſpend the Execution of *Penal Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*; They replyed the 26*th* of *Feb.* following, *That no ſuch Power was ever Claimed or Exerciſed by any of his Majeſties Predeceſſors; and if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the Interrupting of the Free Courſe of the Laws, and altering the* Legiſlative Power, *which hath always been acknowledged to reſide in his Majeſty, and the Two Houſes of Parliament. Therefore they did with an Unanimous Conſent become again Humble Suitors unto his Sacred Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to give them a full and Satisfactory Anſwer to their firſt* Petition *and* Addreſs; *and that his Majeſty would take ſuch effectual Order, That the Proceedings in this Matter might not be for the future drawn into Example.*

To

To which ſaid laſt *Addreſs*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to Condeſcend ſo far, as to Order his *Declaration* of *Indulgence* to be taken off the File and Cancell'd.

Now the uſe I make of all, is to ſhew firſt, That the Opinion of an Excellent & Wiſe Houſe of Commons was, That an *Indulgence, Toleration* or *Union*, as they now call it, was of a *Miſchievous Nature*, and would finally end in *Confuſion* and *Popery*. Secondly, That if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to grant one, it being a *Legiſlative Act*, it muſt be by the Joynt Conſent of the King and the Two Houſes, and not by any one of them. And therefore I will Leave it to the Conſideration of the Gentlemen of that Houſe to Judge, Whether they did well in paſſing the *Vote* of the 10*th* of *January* aforeſaid, for *the Suſpenſion of all Penal Laws which relate to the Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

Some pretending to Excuſe them, have ſaid it was a *Vote* only in order to a Bill to be brought in for the taking thoſe Laws away. But I anſwer, There were ſeveral other Bills for that purpoſe depending; and therefore this was in vain. Secondly, There is no mention of a Bill to be brought in in the Concluſion of the *Vote*. Thirdly, They knew they were to be *Prorogued*, as appears by their firſt *Vote*, and therefore Such a *Deſign* would have been impoſſible.

Now if they had carried thoſe few Points in this Seſsion, *Firſt* not onely to *Deny* the King any Supply, but to make it Criminal for any man to *Lend* him any Money upon his Revenues; they might then in another Seſsion have gone further, and have made it Puniſhable for any man to have paid him his Juſt Settled, Legal Dues; and that would have made them able to have *Forced* this *King* or his *Succeſſors* to *what ever* they had pleaſed.

Secondly, If they might have gone on to impriſon his Majeſty's Subjects in an *Illegal* and *Arbitrary* way, for Matters that had no relation to Priviledges of Parliament, they might afterwards have *Extended* this to as many Perſons and Things as they had pleaſed, and ſo No man would have *dared* to have ſtood by His *Majeſty* againſt a *Houſe of Commons*, tho they had attempted to

Depoſe

Depoſe his *Majeſty*. Nor would his *Majeſty* in a ſhort time have been able to have Protected his Subjects againſt any injury that they or any of them had been pleaſed to have done them; which would infallibly have Subverted the *Monarchy*, and have introduced a *Common-Wealth*.

Thirdly, If they had got that great Branch of the *Legiſlative* Power into their hands, of ſuſpending the Execution of Laws by their *Vote*, they might have driven it as far as they pleaſed, and ſo have once more *Outed* the King and the Houſe of Lords, as a former Parliament did by the Same Means. I will conclude this with the Judgment of a Great and a Learned Man. *No Orders made by A Houſe of Commons in* England, *are of any Validity or Force, or receive any Submiſsion, longer then that Houſe of Commons Continues; and if Any Order made by them be againſt any* Law *or* Statute, *it is Void when it is Made, and receives no Obedience.* Clarendon's Anſwer to Hobbs, p. 127, 128.

His Majeſty then had both Law and Reaſon on his Side, when he ended his Speech to the Next Parliament at *Oxford*, with theſe Words:

I WILL Conclude with this one Advice to you, That the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes, *may be the Known and Eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, which Neither Can, nor Ought to be Departed from, nor Chang'd,* **but by Act of Parliament:** *And I may the more reaſonably Require, That You make the* Laws of the Land your Rule, *becauſe I am Reſolved they ſhall* be Mine.

FINIS.

ADVICE TO THE READER.

HAving received the following Papers just as this Tractate was finiſhed and Printed off, I thought my ſelf obliged to Comply with the reaſonable Requeſt of ſo many Perſons of that Worth and Quality the Subſcribers are: Thô at the ſame time I muſt confeſs, that neither I, nor this Treatiſe, do or can deſerve that Character their Civility and Goodneſs have beſtowed on us.

Sir,

BEing Inform'd that you are upon a Continuation of that Excellent Work, Entituled, *An Addreſs to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation*; and that the Third Part of it is now in the Preſs, we take the Freedom to Trouble you with this our Joynt-Requeſt: That if you take any Notice of the Caſe of Mr. *Richard Thompſon* of *Briſtol* Clerk, in the Series of your Narration, you will be pleaſed to give Credit to the Report which we ſhall here offer you; And (if you think fitting) to Communicate it to the Publick in his Juſtification and Defence. The Particulars hereof we have partly upon very Good Authority; And we are able to Teſtifie the Truth of the reſt upon our own Knowledge and Experience as to the Character, Life, and Converſation of This Worthy Gentleman.

He was Born of Proteſtant Parents, and Educated in the Methods and Principles of the Church of *England*. He received his Orders of Prieſthood from the Hands of Dr. *Fuller* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the year 1670. Immediately upon this Qualification, he was ſent by the Reverend Dr. *Pierce* to ſerve in his Cure of *Brington* in *Northamptonſhire*; where he continued ſome Years with a very Fair Reputation.

About the year 1675. He removed from thence to *Salisbury* upon the Invitation of the ſaid Dr. *Pierce*, then Dean of *Sarum*, where he liv'd with him in his own Houſe.

In the year 1676. The Dean beſtow'd upon him firſt a Prebend; And then a Preſentation to St. *Marie*'s in *Marlborough*.

In 1677. He Travail'd with Mr. *Jo. Norborne* of *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*; but within leſs than a Twelvemonth he was Recall'd,

Recall'd, upon the Vacancy of *Bedminſter* by *Briſtol* his Preſent Living.

When he was abroad, he neither Studyed at St. *Omers*, nor *Douay*, (as was ſuggeſted:) Nor ever ſaw thoſe Places, nor paſs'd into any part of *Flanders* or *Italy*, but *France* alone.

He ſpent near Seven Months of his time at *Paris*; and in the Academy of Monſieur *Fonbert*, a Proteſtant, ſtill frequenting the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Chappel, and receiving the Sacrament there: And during his ſtay he Preach'd twice, and read Prayers often in That Chappel.

At *Guien* upon the *Loyre*, he ſojourn'd all his time there with Monſieur *Du Paizy* the Proteſtant Miniſter, Frequenting the Proteſtant Church, and that only; Receiving the Sacrament alſo from the hands of Monſieur *Du Paizy*, to put thoſe Men out of hope of Gaining him over that had already Sollicited him by fair Promiſes of Advantage to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

At *Blois* he kept himſelf alſo upon the ſame Reſerve, avoiding even to Lodge in the Houſe of a Romaniſt, but upon Abſolute Neceſſity.

He was not yet ſo Rigorous as not to allow himſelf in a Curioſity to make an Acquaintance as well with Perſons Eminent in their ſeveral Orders of the Church of *Rome*, as with the Famous Men of the Proteſtant Churches.

He does not deny but that he had twice or thrice ſeen Maſs performed while he was abroad, but it was Curioſity, not Religion that carried him thither: And that he is ſo far from being ſtagger'd in his Faith by any thing he ſaw abroad, that he is the more Confirm'd in it. And that he would rather Beg within the Communion of the Church of *England*, than be the greateſt Perſon the Church of *Rome* could make him out of it.

Since his Return in 1678. No man hath kept himſelf more ſtrictly to the Orders of the Church of *England*. He hath taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy at leaſt Eight ſeveral times; Preaching and Acting in Conformity thereunto. He never Refus'd any Teſt of Fidelity to the Government, and Declares himſelf Ready to take any farther Teſts that ſhall be lawfully impos'd upon him.

Sir,

We have Extracted theſe Particulars from Evidences Unconteſtable; and we reckon it our Duty to God, to the Church, to Common Juſtice, and to Perſecuted Innocence, to Preſent This Account to your ſelf, in hopes that you will Tranſmit it with your own Ingenious Reflexions to the View, and Conſideration of the World.

We have Annexed hereunto a ſhort Summary of what will be Atteſted on his behalf ſince he came to *Briſtol*. And we have thereunto ſubjoyn'd ſeveral Fair and Ample Certificates in his Vindication and Defence. We could have added many more, as particularly, A Certificate of the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop (Now) of *Chicheſter*, late of *Briſtol*, who has been pleas'd to Certifie Mr. *Richard Thompſon*, to be (in theſe very words) *A Perſon of much more then ordinary Endowments for Learning, an Excellent Preacher, and which Crowns both the Former, a Man of a Clean Life, and Unreproveable Converſation. A Perſon free from Novelties in Religion, but very ſound and Orthodox in the Doctrines he Preaches; and thoroughly Conformable as to Diſcipline*, &c. And then afterward, his Lordſhip Concludes thus.

I know no Young Man of his Years that better deſerves very Good Preferment in our Church then This Young Man doth. And this I do Teſtifie ſincerely from my Heart, and

give

give under my Hand, this Fourteenth day of September, *in the year of our Lord* 1679. *at my Palace in* Chicheſter.

For the Truth and Authority of the whole Matter, we are willing and ready to become Anſwerable, and ſhall take it for a ſingular Kindneſs if you will be pleas'd to let Theſe Teſtimonials paſs into the World at the inſtance of

Sir,

Your humble Servants,

Thomas Eſton, Mayor.
Sir *Richard Crump*, Kt.
Sir *John Knight*, Kt.
James Twyford.
Walter Gunter.
Thomas Davidge.
John Teomans.

Touching Mr. *THOMPSON*'s Care and Pains at *BRISTOL* in the Diſcharge of his Function there: And his *Reputation* among the *Inhabitants* of the ſaid *City*.

1. IT is Undeniably known, That he hath brought over many *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers* to the Church of *England* there, and *Baptized* them *Publickly*.

2. That he hath Inſtructed, and Grounded many Hundreds of Children (who were afterward Confirmed by the Biſhop of the Place) in the *Catechiſm* of the Church of *England*.

3. It

3. It is certain that he is never without a *Full Auditory*, whenſoever he *Preacheth*, or when he Readeth the *Prayers* only: And that he hath in *his time* much encreaſed the Number of *Communicants*.

4. There are many moſt Worthy Gentlemen in That City, that will not be Aſhamed to own their Eſtabliſhment in the Church of *England*, to the great Pains which he hath taken With, and Among them.

Laſtly, In Teſtimony of the High Eſteem that the Inhabitants of That City had of This Gentleman, they Met him, with a great many Horſemen, at his Return from his *Perſecution* in *London*; and bad him Wellcom again to the Place of his *Reſidence*, with the *Higheſt Expreſſions* of *Joy*, and *Acclamation*.

Sir John Lloyd's *Certificate concerning Mr.* Thompſon, *under the Seal of the Office of his Majoralty.*

WHereas *Richard Thompſon*, Vicar of St. *Mary Redcliff*, and St. *Thomas*, two Eminent Churches within the City of *Briſtol*, even from the time of his firſt appearance to officiate in thoſe Churches, hath been privily traduced, and now of late openly and maliciouſly branded, by the multiforme Fanaticks of this City, for a Church-Papiſt and Jeſuite, for the Rector of St. *Omers*, ſo Nick-naming St. *Thomas*, and with many like Terms of Obloquy and Slander, the Invention whereof may be reckon'd upon as the very firſt and peculiar gift of that Party, whoſe great and only Maſter-piece it hath been and ſtill is, by like Maliciouſly Witty and Wicked Methods and Artifices to expoſe alike His Loyalty and Miniſtry, and to leſſen that Eſteem and Reputation he hath thereby gained in the Hearts and Affections of all the Kings Majeſties Loyal & Loving Subjects within this City. Theſe

These are therefore at the Request of and just Due to the said *Richard Thompson*, to Certifie unto all, unto whom these Presents shall come, that the said *Richard Thompson*, is well known to me *John Lloyd*, Knight, and Major of the said City, and to all the Kings Majesties Loyal and Loving Subjects therein, to be a Person of most Innocent and Exemplary Life and Conversation, a most Constant and Carefull Dispenser of God's most Holy Word unto the People under his Charge, a most Diligent and Zealous Assertor of the Kings Majesties Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, in opposition to all Schismatical and Factious Persons and Principles, under what Names soever they pass or prevail amongst us, and also of all the Christian Doctrines, together with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, as they are now Owned and Established by Law.

In Testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of my Office of Majoralty to be affixed, Dated the Eighteenth Day of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1679.

John Lloyd, Major.

The Dean and Chapter of *Sarum*, their Certificate.

Omnibus quorum interest innotescat per Præsentes, Ricardum Thompson *in Artibus Magistrum, & Vicarium de* Bedminster *juxta Bristoliam, quamdiu apud nos commoratus est, pie vitam, sobrieq; & laudabiliter traduxisse. In concionibus sæpe habendis sedulo curam adhibuisse, strenue studiis Theologicis navasse operam; Nec unquam (quod scimus) docuisse quicquam vel tenuisse, quod Ecclesia Anglicana non etiam approbat atque tuetur. Cujus præsertim Disciplinæ & Superioribus quibuscunque ab omni parte conformem morigerumque se præstitit. In quorum omnium Testimonium, & fidem iisdem faciendam, nomina nostra & cognomina, plane & ex animo apposuimus*, Sept. 13. *Annoq; Salutis reparatæ.* 1679.

Thomas Pierce *Dec. Sarum*
Daniel Whitby *Præcentor Sarum*
Ricardus Drake *Cancellarius Sarum*
Ricardus Hill *Can. Resid. Sarum*
Franciscus Horton *Can. Resid. Sarum.*

A Certificate Signed by ſeveral of his Auditors upon the Thirtieth of January, 1679. *being Perſons of great Reputation for Loyalty as well as Fortune.*

THeſe are to Certifie all whom it may concern, That we whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, were preſent at the Pariſh Church of St. *Thomas* within the City of *Briſtol*, on the Thirtieth Day of *January*, 1679. where we then heard Mr. *Richard Thompſon* Preach very ſolemnly on the Occaſion of that Days Faſt. To which Sermon every one of us for himſelf doth Declare, he was very attentive. And we do all hereby Certifie and Declare that we do not remember that the ſaid Mr. *Thompſon*, did then ſay in his Prayer, or Sermon, *That there was no Popiſh Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*, or any thing to that or the like effect. And we are ready to make Oath of the ſame, if required. But on the contrary, we have heard him deteſt and abhor the Popiſh Plot. And we do further Certifie, That the ſaid Mr. *Thompſon*, is, and by all the time we have known him, hath been a True and Loyal Subject to our Moſt Gracious Soveraign, and of a very Sober and Pious Life and Converſation amongſt us, every way ſuitable to his Function. Witneſs Our Hands this Thirteenth day of *November*, 1680.

John Hicks, Alderman.	*John Oliff*,	*James Twyford*,
Sir *Richard Crump*, Ald.	*John Yeomans*,	*Daniel Pym*,
Sir *John Knight*, Kt.	*John Combes*, Sheriff.	*Thomas Hartwell*,
George Morgan,	*George Boucher*,	*Edmund Arundel*,
Thomas Davidge,	*Thomas Turner*,	*Richard Benſon*,
Edmond Brand,	*George Hart*, Sheriff.	*Francis Yeomans*,
John Broadway,	*James Millerd*,	*Thomas Durbin*,
Walter Gunter,	*Ralph Oliff*,	*Charles Allen*.
John Hellier,		

THE END.

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